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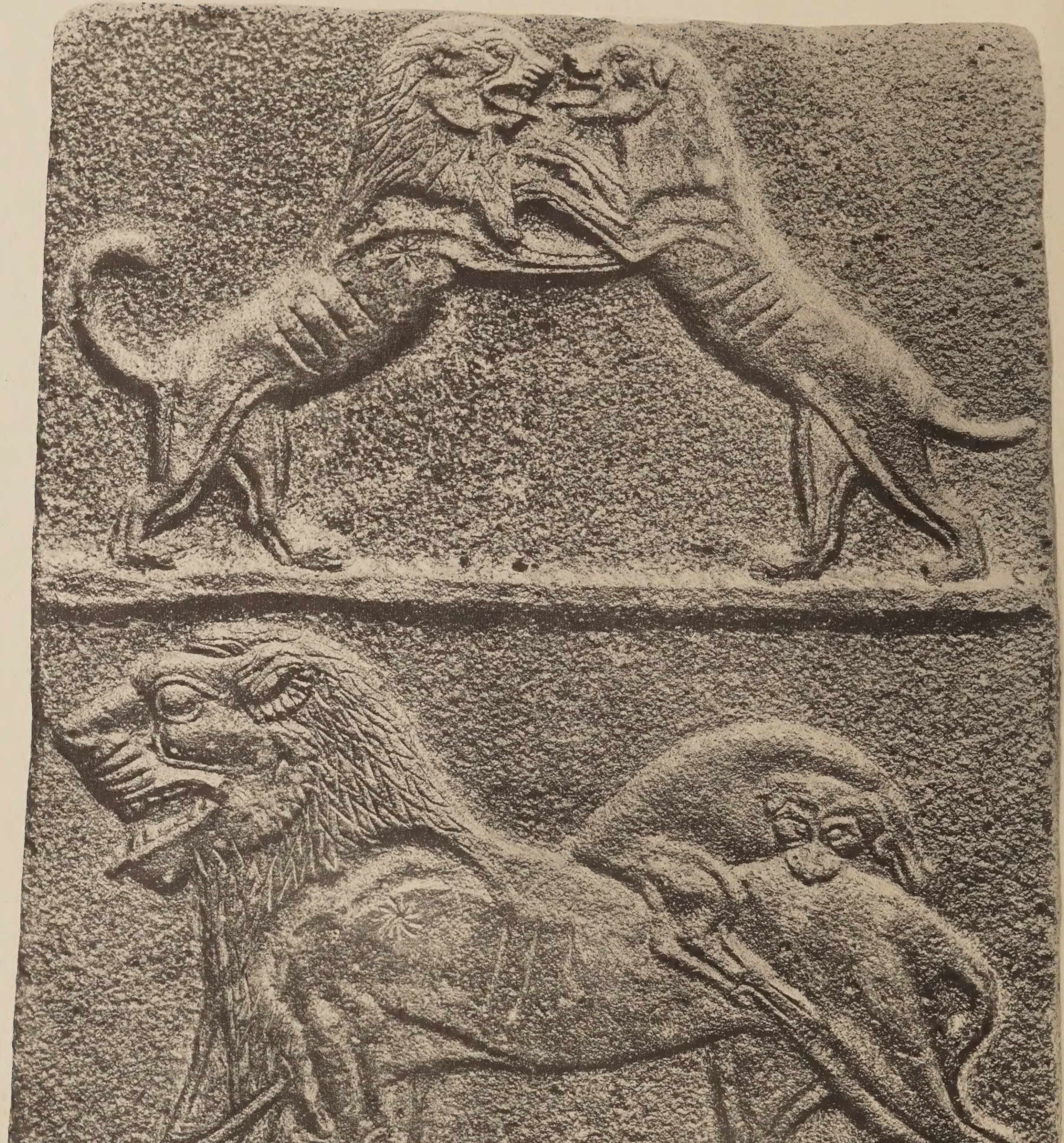

BASALT PANEL FROM THE MEKAL TEMPLE OF THOTHMES III ON THE TELL. THE SCULPTURES SHOW NERGAL IN THE FORM OF A LION FIGHTING WITH THE MYTHOLOGICAL TEMPLE-GUARDIAN IN THE FORM OF A DOG.

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VOLUME I

# THE TOPOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF BETH-SHAN

## WITH DETAILS OF THE EGYPTIAN AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS FOUND ON THE SITE

BY

ALAN ROWE

PHILADELPHIA
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# FOREWORD

We are pleased to present to the public this, the first volume of the University Museum's series of publications in Palestinian Archæology. The detailed description of the excavations at Beth-Shan, inaugurated in 1921 under the direction of Dr. Clarence S. Fisher and later ably carried forward by Mr. Alan Rowe, reveals the scientific value to be derived from the application of modern archæological methods to one of the most important mounds in Palestine.

This volume will be succeeded by others treating of the various phases of the excavations, which, despite a temporary suspension of activity will in due course be resumed.

Horace H. F. Jayne
*Director*

February, 1930

# PREFACE

It was originally intended that the present volume, which deals with the Topography and History of Beth-shan[1] (Beisân), should include a full account of the Canaanite temples, four in all, belonging to Rameses II, Seti I, and Amenophis III, discovered on the site during the years 1925 and 1926; but as it was found that this would make too unwieldy a volume it was finally decided to hold over the details of the temples and of the very interesting cult objects which they contained, for the second volume of this series, which it is hoped will be issued shortly. In addition to topographical and other photographs, we have incorporated in this publication photographs of the inscribed monuments found on the site, and have given translations of the texts on all of them.

Excavations were commenced at Beth-shan in the year 1921 by the University Museum and have been carried on annually ever since, with the exception of the year 1924, when no work was done on the site. Dr. C. S. Fisher was Field Director of the Expedition from 1921 to 1923 inclusive,[2] while I was present as Field Assistant during the years 1922 and 1923.[3] Upon the subsequent resignation of Dr. Fisher, I was appointed Field Director as from August, 1925.

Work for the 1925 season, which was carried out only on the "tell" or great artificial mound at Beth-shan, began on the first of September, and was completed four months later, at the end of December. During the 1926 season the excavations, which were conducted both on the tell and in the great cemetery to the north of it, began on the twentieth of August and finished about the end of the year. The excavations of the 1927 and 1928 seasons were started about the last week in August and were concluded at the end of the year in each case, and were confined to the tell. In addition to Mr. G. M. FitzGerald, Assistant Field Director, the scientific members of my staff were Mr. S. Yeivin, Mr. H. J. Hine and Dr. I. Ben-Dor.[4]

The work of excavating during the seasons from 1925 to 1928 (and also during the previous seasons) was carried on by Egyptian labourers from Kuft, in Upper Egypt, assisted by a number of locals from Beth-shan village, all of whom were under an Egyptian *reis*, or foreman. This force worked together very well on the whole, and many of the locals, who were not trained workmen like the Egyptians, quickly learned from the latter the correct way in which to excavate.

Various accounts of the work of the 1925, 1926, 1927 and 1928 seasons have appeared in *The Museum Journal* for September and December, 1925, September, 1926,

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[1] For the sake of consistency, and except of course in the cases of certain quotations, the form "Beth-shan" will be adopted throughout this work; the form is that given in I *Samuel*, xxxi, 10.

[2] Brief summaries of Dr. Fisher's work will be found in Fisher, *The Museum Journal*, March, 1922, March and December, 1923, June and September, 1924; Père L. H. Vincent, *Revue Biblique*, 1922, pp. 111–115, 1923, pp. 430–441; R.A.S. Macalister, *A Century of Excavation in Palestine*, pp. 73–74, etc.; H. R. Hall, *Israel and the Surrounding Nations*, in *The People and the Book*, pp. 2, 9, 16; and G. J. H. Ovenden, *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1923, pp. 147 ff.

[3] The names of some of the members of Dr. Fisher's staff have already been given in *The Museum Journal*; the staff included Mr. Ernest Mackay, Mr. G. M. FitzGerald and others.

[4] The names of the rest of my staff will be found in my articles in *The Museum Journal* for the years 1925–1929. A complete list of references to Beth-shan in this journal is given in section 6 of our Appendix to History of Beth-shan.

March and December, 1927, June, 1928, and March, 1929; in the London *Times* and *Daily Telegraph* under different dates; and in the *Illustrated London News* of 26th December, 1925, 30th October, 1926, 12th and 26th November, 1927, and 8th, 15th and 22nd December, 1928. Brief résumés, written by Dr. S. A. Cook, appeared in the *Quarterly Statements* of the Palestine Exploration Fund for January, April, and October, 1926, October, 1927, and January, 1928, and in the *Expository Times* for August, 1926, pp. 489–490. See also Père A. Mallon, *Les fouilles américaines de Beisân* (*Quatrième campagne, Septembre-Décembre*, 1925), in *Biblica*, vol. vii, pp. 106–118, vol. ix. part 2, pp. 245–256, and vol. x, pp. 126–128; Père L. H. Vincent, *Les fouilles américaines de Beisân*, in *Revue Biblique*, January, 1926, pp. 124–126, also the same journal for January, 1928, pp. 123–138, and October, 1928, pp. 512–543 (*Le ba'al cananéen de Beisan et sa parèdre*); Père Dhorme, *Les fouilles de Beisân*, in *Revue Biblique*, January, 1927, pp. 98–101, pl. III; Père A. Barrois, *Les fouilles américaines de Beisan*, in *Revue Biblique*, January, 1929, pp. 85–91; *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1926, pp. 71–73; and Alan Rowe, *The New Discoveries at Beth-shan*, in *Quarterly Statement*, P.E.F., April, 1927, *Additional Remarks*, in *Q.S.* for July, 1927, *Excavations at Beisân during the* 1927 *Season*, in *Q.S.* for April, 1928, *Palestine Expedition of The Museum of The University of Pennsylvania*, in *Q.S.* for April, 1929, and *New Light on the Old Testament*, in *Palestine and Near East Annual*, No. 2, pp. 41-48. This list, which is by no means complete, must be supplemented by articles by Père A. Mallon, *Une nouvelle stèle égyptienne de Beisan*, in *Syria*, 1928, pp. 124–130; Père L. Hennequin, *Les fouilles américaines de Beisan*, in *Revue Apologétique*, June, 1929, pp. 660–679, and the same author, *La cité de Beisan au XVe siècle avant Jésus-Christ*, in *Revue Ecclésiastique de Metz*, June and August, 1929. (See also the bibliography on Beth-shan given by this author, quoted in section 5 of our Appendix to History of Beth-shan.)

My thanks are due firstly to Mr. Horace H. F. Jayne, the present Director of the University Museum, and to Dr. G. B. Gordon, the late Director, for their constant support, valuable counsel and assistance. To Père L. H. Vincent, the "Father of Canaanite Archæology"; to Professor John Garstang, late Director of the Palestine Department of Antiquities; to Père F. M. Abel; to Père Dhorme; to Dr. W. F. Albright; and to many others, particularly Miss J. M. McHugh, the able Secretary of the University Museum, Mr. G. M. FitzGerald and Mr. Battiscombe Gunn, I wish also to express my thanks. Dr. R. Paret, the Arabist, furnished me with certain references to Beth-shan in early Arabic and other literature, while Miss G. R. Levy, Dr. L. A. Mayer, and Miss E. M. Zingsem have assisted in various directions. Finally my thanks are due to Messrs. Late R. J. Brill, Ltd., of Leiden, Holland, for granting permission to reprint the article "*Baisân*", written by Père H. Lammens, from the *Encyclopædia of Islâm*, London, 1913.

It gives us much pleasure to be able to record our satisfaction with the way in which the Palestine Department of Antiquities both under the present Director, Mr. E. T. Richmond, and under his predecessor, Professor John Garstang, has always given us every possible help during our excavations of the site.

ALAN ROWE
*Field Director*

Hierosolyma
July, 1929

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# PART I: THE TOPOGRAPHY OF BETH-SHAN

The ancient city of Beth-shan,[5] at present called Beisân, is situated in North Palestine at the eastern end of the Valley of Jezreel, and has been since time immemorial the key to the Jordan end of the great highway extending along the valleys of Esdrælon and Jezreel, from the Mediterranean Sea to the country now known as Transjordan. The site of the old city is today partly covered by a good sized village or town (Pls. 3, No. 1; 11, No. 1) lying on the southern side of the River Jâlûd (Pl. 12), a swiftly flowing stream which runs eastwards into the River Jordan. The total area of the lands belonging to the village is 26,000 dunams.[6] At the last census the population of the village was about two thousand, which number included 1,710 Moslems, 250 Christians, and 40 Jews, the majority of whom, apart from the store-keepers, are engaged in agricultural and pastoral pursuits. The village is the centre of a district including forty-six settlements which are inhabited by Moslems and Jews, while in the pastoral lands there are numbers of semi-nomadic Bedouins with their flocks and herds. Most of the present village population came from neighbouring towns such as Nazareth and Nâblus; some even from Egypt, the Sûdân, and Syria. The railway station of Beisân (Pl. 11, No. 2) is situated on the Haifâ-Damascus narrow gauge line; it is 36½ miles east of Haifâ, and about 1½ miles to the northwest of the village. The whole of the area is considerably below the level of the Mediterranean Sea.

Between the village and the River Jâlûd is the mighty Tell el-Hosn, or "Mound of the Fortress" (Pl. 2, No. 1), which comprises the remains of a series of superimposed citadels ranging in date from the earliest age to the Arabic period. So far, nine main city-levels have been identified, the base of the lowest of which is 12.82 metres (42 ft.) below the tell top. A well about 42 feet deep was discovered in this lowest level in 1928 (Pl. 20, No. 2), the base of which was found to rest on the original alluvial-like soil covering the low rock knoll on which the tell is situated. Therefore, at this part of the mound, No. IX city-level actually represents the half-way point. The original top of the mound was 105.61 metres (346½ ft.) below sea level (see Pl. 1) while, owing to the contour of the rock base, the actual height of the mound at the north was 64.89 metres (212¾ ft.), and at the south 40.80 metres (133¾ ft.). The base of the mound itself, along the line of the section shown in the above mentioned plate, is 274.30 metres (899½ ft.) in length. The bed of the River Jâlûd near the tell is about 185.96 metres (610 ft.) below sea level, or 80.35 metres (263½ ft.) below the tell top. All these levels are based on the bench-mark, reading − 116.42 metres (− 381¾ ft.), situated in the Beisân railway station, on the outside of the north wall of the waiting-room.

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[5] The derivation of the name Beth-shan, or "House of Shan", is as yet uncertain, but it is quite possible that the name reflects a far-distant connection with the old Mesopotamian serpent-deity named "Shakhan", "Shahan" or "Sakhan" for our excavations have shown that the site was the centre of a serpent cult in Palestine. (Père Vincent draws attention to the curious fact that the word *Shakhan* written in the reverse direction becomes the word for "serpent"-*nakhash*. Metathesis in connection with divine names was by no means uncommon in the past. The root *n-h-sh* seems to mean "serpent" in all its permutations in Semitic languages. In Arabic the word *hanash* is used in the same sense.) For a discussion of this interesting subject see my article in the *Quarterly Statement* of the P.E.F., April, 1928, pp. 75–76. Variant passages in the Old Testament give the name of the town as Beth-She'an, which has been rendered by some "House of Security". It is interesting to note the views (wholly inaccurate) of older writers on the subject. Thus John of Würzburg (1160–1170 A. D.) says that "Bethsan", as he calls the city, means "House, or City of the Sun",—*Description of the Holy Land by John of Würzburg*, p. 6. Theoderich, also of Würzburg (1172 A. D.) thinks that "Bethsan" means "House of God",—*Theoderich's Description of the Holy Places*, p. 63. (Both works are issued by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society.) C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde im Verhältnis zur Natur und zur Geschichte des Menschen*, xv, p. 431, Berlin, 1850, writes, "In Hebrew antiquity the place is known by the name of Beth Sean, Bethshean, Bethshan, that is 'House of Tranquillity' (not 'House of the Foe' or 'of the Tumult' as in Eusebius), from which Beisân, or Bysan is derived." In the Talmûd we find "Bêshân" (*Pesahim*, fol. 50b), or even "Bêsân", and thus have the passage from the biblical form "Beth-shan" to the modern Arabic form "Beisân". In the el-Amârna correspondence "Beth-shan" appears as "Bît-Sáni". In late times the city was also known as Scythopolis, or Nysa.

[6] The dunam is 1,600 square Turkish dhiras, or about 919 square metres.

On the northern side of the mound, and on the other side of the River Jâlûd, is the great cemetery of Beth-shan (Pls. 4, 5), which is undoubtedly one of the largest, if not quite the largest, of all the ancient cemeteries in Palestine. It contains innumerable graves of all periods from the Bronze Age to the Byzantine era, many of which we have examined. During our excavations of 1926 we came across graves containing burials of the Middle Canaanite period (2000–1600 B. C.); burials containing anthropoid "slipper" sarcophagi belonging to Egyptian mercenaries from the Ægean-Anatolian regions, dating at least from the time of Amenophis III, or even Thothmes III, to that of Rameses III or slightly later (Pl. 37), and burials belonging to Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine times. As a rule the very oldest graves are found at the top of the cemetery slope, while those of the other periods are found to have been cut here and there over the whole of the valley side. The graves very frequently break into one another, causing in many cases a great disturbance of the original burial. Pl. 2 gives a general idea of the respective positions of the great northern cemetery, the River Jâlûd, and the tell. Burials, mostly of the Roman and Byzantine ages, are also found on the south and west sides of the village. The position of the village in relation to the south side of the tell is seen in Pl. 17.

Just to the south of the tell is a large theatre (wrongly called by some an amphitheatre), which is the best preserved piece of Roman work in Western Palestine (Pls. 7; 8, No. 3). Its diameter is 60.08 metres (197 ft.) and it is said to have had originally eleven double vomitories each 15.25 metres (50 ft.) long, only seven of which are now visible (Pl. 7, No. 2). From each vomitory a small passage leads at an angle to a kind of room with a domed roof which has been called a "cage", for in it, some think, wild animals were kept, but this is by no means certain. The seats of the building were in twelve tiers. It has been said that perhaps it was in the orchestra that the Christians who were martyred at Beth-shan during the third and fourth centuries were put to death. If this is true, then the theatre must have been rearranged for such a purpose.

To the west of the village, and now entirely covered by houses and débris, lies an almost destroyed hippodrome, evidently Roman, which was about 85.40 metres (280 ft.) from east to west and 46.36 metres (152 ft.) from north to south. It was enclosed by a bank 2.74 metres (9 ft.) thick, and the seats, in tiers of 61 centimetres (2 ft.) broad, and 45 centimetres (1½ ft.) high, surrounded the arena on all sides. The number of tiers is unknown.[7] Perhaps the martyrdoms referred to above actually took place in the hippodrome instead of in the theatre. At the foot of the tell, on the west and south, are the remains of a colonnade of large white marble shafts.

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[7] Conder and Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine, Memoirs*, vol. ii, p. 106. See also Meistermann, *Guide to the Holy Land*, 1923, p. 615, and Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, p. 240, both of whom say the hippodrome is 53.07 metres (174 ft.) wide.

To the west of Beth-shan, and especially to the north, where it encloses the westernmost part of the great northern cemetery site, are the remains of the huge stone wall that originally surrounded the city and some of the suburbs in Roman and Byzantine times. The high vaulted Roman arch carrying the wall over the Jâlûd, on the east side of the tell, is still almost intact (Pl. 8, No. 1). There is a mosque which stands at the northeast of the village (Pl. 9, No. 1); this was built in 1401 A. D. upon the remains of a Byzantine basilica.[8] A synagogue once existed in the district, but its site is unknown.[9] There is no modern synagogue in the village.

A little to the northeast of the railway station is the Khân el-'Ahmar, or "Red Caravanserai", which is now in a ruined state (Pl. 10, No. 1). This place, according to an inscription on the lintel of its door, was built in 708 A. H. (1308 A. D.).[10] See Pl. 10, No. 2.

The position of the ancient road which ran down the valley eastwards from Ptolemais, the modern Acre, to Beth-shan, is now marked only by a few broken sarcophagi and other remains which extend for a couple of miles or so along the plain to the west of the tell. Ruined buildings and many columns, some still standing, are to be seen everywhere in Beth-shan, and the vast area over which they are spread testifies to the great size of the ancient city in Roman and Byzantine times.

Various early writers have extolled the natural beauties of Beth-shan and have referred to the fact that its fertile lands were well cultivated in days gone by. Rabbi Simeon ben Lakish says, "If paradise is situated in the Land of Israel, its entrance is Bethsan."[11] Esthori ben Moshe hap-Parchi who resided at Beth-shan during the beginning of the fourteenth century says it "is situated on rich waters, is a blessed, beautiful land, bearing fruit like the garden of God, a very entrance to Paradise."[12] Beth-shan has always been famous for its date palm trees, of which, alas, practically none now exist. The remains of a palm tree trunk were found between the two altars in the inner sanctuary of the southern temple of Thothmes III (Pl. 15, No. 2). Yâkût, the Arab geographer (thirteenth century), writes that "Baisân was celebrated for the number of its palms, but I, Yâkût, who have been there many times, never saw more than two palm trees here, and these of the kind that give dates one year and no more."[13] The Arab writer Mukaddasî (tenth century) says that "from Baisân come both indigo and dates, also the treacle called *dibs*."[14] A reference to the palm trees is given in a series of old traditions collected by the Arab writer Tirmidhî, who died in 892 A. D. "Give me information of the palms of Baisân which is between the Jordan and Palestine. Are their dates not the most tasty?"[15] The historian Reland writes: "The words of Sozomen, in his *History*, VIII, ch. xiii, show that there were here a great number of palms: 'They went to Jerusalem, and from there to Scythopolis, where they thought to find a comfortable dwelling because of the number of palms, the leaves of which were used by the monks in their customary works.' These customary works of the monks were, I believe, the making of baskets, which they twisted from the leaves."[16] The Russian abbot Daniel who visited Beth-shan (1106–1107 A. D.), writes that "thick groves of date trees grow in the town."[17] When Seetzen visited the place in 1806 he found only one date palm, "and that is wild and with a short trunk."[18]

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[8] Conder and Kitchener, *op. cit.*, p. 105; Meistermann, *loc. cit.*; Baedeker, *loc. cit.* The apse of the old church was once traceable at the east end of the building. The mosque itself is named "The Mosque of the Forty Warriors". There is a Tell el-'Arba'în, "Hill of the Forty", near Pella, an ancient city opposite Beth-shan on the other side of the Jordan, with which perhaps the "Forty Warriors" of the mosque had some connection,—Schumacher, *Abila, Pella and Northern Ajlûn* (P.E.F.), pp. 19, 72, 77. On the other hand, many Muhammadan shrines in Palestine are associated with "forty" saints. Cf. T. Canaan, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine, Journal of Palestine Oriental Society*, vii, No. 1–2, pp. 56–58.

[9] *Megillah*, c. iii, p. 3. Parchi, *Kafthor va-ferach*, c. 7, f. 30a, writes that "The Synagogue of Bethsan, mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmûd, lies in ruins at present; it contains three niches for the holy ark, directed towards Jerusalem." Père Abel, *Revue Biblique*, 1912, p. 416, refers to the synagogue which was restored about 300 A. D., and to a college, where Rabbi Siméon ben Eleazar held some conferences. About this time the Jews of Beth-shan appealed, but unsuccessfully, to Rabbi Ammi for permission to use the stones of one ruined synagogue to build a new one. It was in the synagogue that Rabbi Berakhia forbade anyone who was not a master or a pupil to make his ablutions with the water of the amphora placed at its entrance. The local Jews of the time kept the sabbath very strictly and even hesitated to take journeys on a Friday. Although there are in the Talmûd many references to the Jewish inhabitants of Beth-shan, the Jews themselves considered the town as foreign territory. This is shown by the fact that Rabbi Jehudah Hannasî permitted the fruits of the Beth-shan district to be eaten without tithes (*Hullin*, fol. 6b. The law concerning the tithes applied only to strictly Jewish territories.) The inhabitants of Beth-shan were also as a rule not permitted to recite the prayers before the congregation on account of their inaccurate accent (*Megillah*, fol. 24b). For details of relations between the Jews and the other people of Beth-shan, see Abel, *op. cit.*, pp. 416–417.

[10] Cf. J. A. Jaussen, *Inscription Arabe du Khân al-Ahmar à Beisân*, in *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, t. xxii, 1923, pp. 99–103.

[11] Zunz, *On the Geography of Palestine from Jewish Sources* (in *The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. by A. Asher, London-Berlin, 1841, ii, pp. 400–401). 'Abû-l-Fedâ, *Syria*, 84, 85, quoted by Zunz, says that "Baisân is small, without walls; has gardens rivers, wells, and a fruitful territory; one of the rivers runs through the town, which is situated on the foot of a mountain."

Among other things which were cultivated in the district in the past may be mentioned rice,[19] sugar canes,[20] olive trees,[21] corn,[22] flax,[23] reeds for mat-making,[24] and so on. Some ancient sesame seed found on the tell is shown in Pl. 15, No. 3; this came from the Early Seti level. One of the chief industries of the place was the manufacture of linen, for which Beth-shan was almost world famous.[25] Referring to this industry, Reland says that "In the *Midrasch Coheleth* is mentioned (fol. 92), 'fine linen which comes from Beth-san' . . . . About the manufacture of linen at Scythopolis, see *Codex Theodosianus*, leg. 8 de murileg., vol iii, ed. Gottfried, p. 504. The manufacture of linen at Scythopolis is mentioned also by the author of the *Expositio Totius Mundi.*"[26] In the edict of Diocletian, promulgated in 301 A. D., the linen of Beth-shan is enumerated among the most expensive kinds—*Edictum Diocletiani*, c. xxvi–xxviii. Great numbers of loom weights chiefly dating onwards from the time of Rameses II, have been found on the tell and testify to the importance of the linen industry in the past. The oldest example of linen discovered at Beth-shan was that found impressed on both sides of a bronze ceremonial axehead from the Amenophis III level, in 1927 (Pl. 35, No. 6).

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[12] Parchi, *op. cit.*, c. 7, f. 30b.

[13] Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 411.

[14] *Op. cit.* pp. 18, 19. With regard to indigo, the German explorer Seetzen says that the inhabitants "obtain much profit from the cultivation of the indigo-plant, which is called by them *el-wuéssme*." Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina*, etc., ed. Kruse, Berlin, 1854, ii. pp. 159–165.

[15] Tirmidhî, *Jamî'a es-sahîh*, Bûlâk, ii, p. 41.

[16] Hadrian Reland, *Palæstina ex Monumentis Veteribus Illustrata*, ed. Trajecti Batavor., 1714 (pp. 992–998); ed. Norimberg, 1716 (pp. 732–736).

[17] *The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel in the Holy Land*, pp. 59–60.

[18] Seetzen, *op. cit.*

[19] Guy Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 411. It was no longer grown in Seetzen's time.

[20] *Op. cit.*, p. 53.

[21] Meistermann, *op. cit.*, p. 613. The Talmud (*Peah*, vii, 1) mentions a species of olives called "Bêshâni".

[22] Parchi, *op. cit.*, c. 7, f. 30a. "Rabbi Meir says: 'I have seen that in the valley of Bethsan, one seah of seed-corn yielded 70 khor.'" Cf. the corn found on the Early Seti level on the tell shown in Pl. 15, No. 4.

[23] Meistermann, *loc. cit.*

[24] Guy Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 411. The reference is to the statement of the Arab writer 'Idrîsî (twelfth century): "[At Beth-shan] grows the Sâmân [reed] of which they make Sâmânî mats. This reed is not found anywhere else except here, and nowhere else in Syria is there any reed to equal it."

[25] G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 362, and footnote 4.

Beth-shan was famous also for its wines, at least in the Arabic period. For example, the poet Ibn Saihân, who lived in the time of the Omayyads (661–750 A. D.), refers to them in one of his works. It appears that one night the poet himself had attended a secret wine party and did not return home in the evening as was his usual wont. In answer to the question put to him by his wife as to where he had been, he replied in his poetic manner that he had only been drinking the wines of Beyrout and Beth-shan: "Wine from the villages of Beyrout, pure, faultless, or brought from the land of Beisân. Forsooth we drank it, until it caused us to stagger."[27] Another poet, el-'Akhtal, who died in 710 A. D., mentions in a poem that the wine of Beth-shan is especially "sweet" and "light".[28] In the time of Seetzen (1806 A.D.), "the agriculture of the inhabitants seems to have been of little importance, but they kept small herds of cattle and buffaloes."[29] On the other hand, when the British naval lieutenant Molyneux visited the place in 1847, he saw that the land "near the village was well irrigated, fertile, well cultivated with maize. . . . Everywhere we saw hundreds of small huts dispersed through the plain, and occupied by watchmen, who, by the throwing of stones frightened away the flocks of birds . . . in order to secure their crops, which seemed to bring in much revenue."[30] To this day, in Beth-shan, the sight of watchmen frightening away birds from the crops by means of stones thrown from a sling is a very common one. The men stand on a high platform made out of branches of trees.

It is no doubt due to the fact that the village is very much below the level of the sea that the heat of the summer months is almost unbearable. This heat was noticed by Josephus, who says: "This place was warm, even in the winter, as it was suffocatingly hot in the summer time, by reason of its situation in a plain."[31] The winter months except during the rainy days are, on the contrary, very mild and pleasant. Hence it was at Beth-shan that Vespasian, who was sent by Nero to the east in 66 A. D. to put down the insurrection of the Jews, established the winter quarters of two of his legions.[32] As a matter of fact, it was with a view to escaping the excessive heat of the summer —previous excavations at Beth-shan had been carried out in that season—that the experiment was made in 1925 of excavating during the winter, and it must be said that

[26] Reland, *loc. cit.*

[27] Cf. 'Abu-l-Faraj el-'Isfahânî, *Kitâb el-Aghânî*, Bûlâk, vol. ii, p. 86. This writer died in 967 A. D.

[28] *Dîwân*, ed. Salhânî, Beyrout, 1891, p. 3. Yâkût mentions a poem of the Arabic poetess Lailâ el-Akhyalîya (died 707 A. D.), in which she refers to the famous wine of Beisân. Cf. *Jacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. by F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig, 1886, vol. i, pp. 788–789.

[29] Seetzen, *op. cit.*, II, p. 163.

[30] Ritter, *op. cit.*, XV, p. 365.

[31] *Wars* III, ix, 1. Yâkût says that "Baisân suffers from the pest, and is very hot."—Guy Le Strange, *loc. cit.*

[32] Josephus, *loc. cit.*

the innovation was completely successful. Very little time was lost on account of rain and as a result of our experience we decided to work in the winter during future seasons.

An excellent account of the geology and the prehistoric features of Beth-shan, together with a coloured map of the site, is given by Dr. L. Picard of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, in his *Zur Geologie der Besân-Ebene*, Leipzig, 1929. A version of this map is given, with Dr. Picard's permission, on Pl. 58 of our book.

The worst trouble we have to contend with at Beth-shan is malaria which is largely due to the abundance of water[33] in the district, which, if not properly drained away, forms ideal breeding places for the *anopheles* mosquito. The Palestine Government is doing all that is at present possible in a general way to reduce the trouble in Beth-shan but it will probably require the expenditure of a great sum of money before the place is made anything like free from malaria. Until that happy state of affairs is brought about the constant use of prophylactics, mosquito nets and mosquito boots, is imperative.

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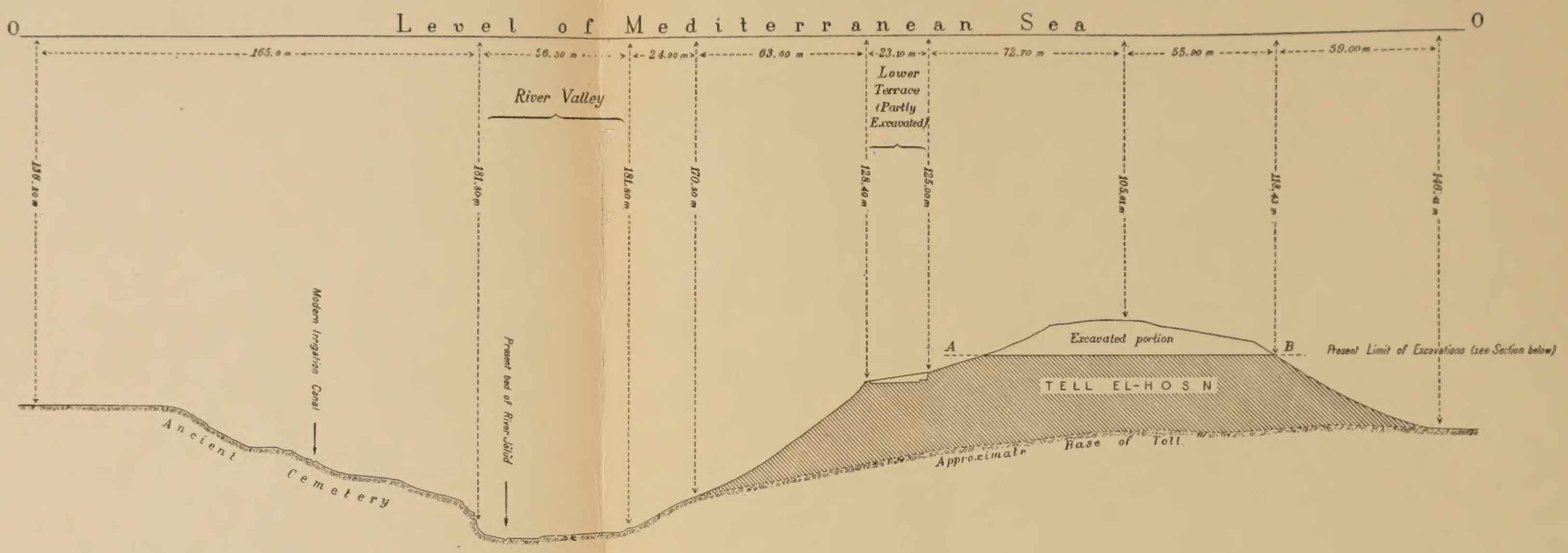
[33] Writing about the water at Beth-shan, Mukaddasî says: "Water is here abundant and easily obtained; but for drinking purposes its water is deemed heavy of digestion."—Guy Le Strange, *op. cit.*, p. 411. The latter statement is certainly correct for the water does affect for a little while most people who have constantly to drink it.

PLATE 1


0 Level of Mediterranean Sea 0
165.0 m
56.30 m
24.90 m
63.60 m
23.10 m
72.70 m
55.20 m
59.00 m
River Valley
Lower Terrace (Partly Excavated)
138.10 m
181.80 m
181.80 m
170.30 m
128.40 m
125.00 m
105.81 m
118.43 m
146.41 m
Modern Irrigation Canal
Present bed of River Jâlûd
Ancient Cemetery
A
B
Excavated portion
Present Limit of Excavations (see Section below)
TELL EL-HOSN
Approximate Base of Tell
10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 Metres.

EXPLANATION

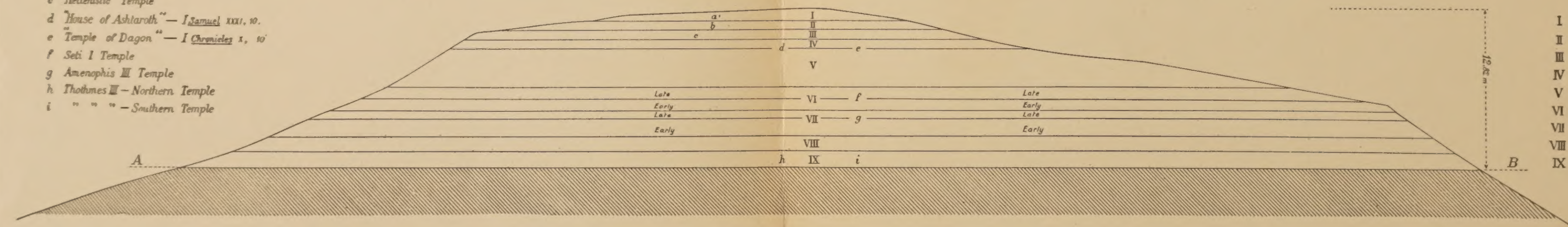
▨ Debris, etc.

Rock

GENERAL SECTION through Ancient Cemetery, River Jâlûd, and Tell el-Hosn, from North-East to South-West. Looking South-East

KEY TO POSITIONS OF SACRED BUILDINGS:-

- a Arabic Mosque
- b Byzantine Circular Church
- c Hellenistic Temple
- d "House of Ashtaroth"—I Samuel xxxi, 10.
- e "Temple of Dagon"—I Chronicles x, 10
- f Seti I Temple
- g Amenophis III Temple
- h Thothmes III—Northern Temple
- i " " "—Southern Temple


a
b
c
d
e
f
g
h
i
I
II
III
IV
V
VI
VII
VIII
IX
Late
Early
Late
Early
Late
Early
Late
Early
A
B
12.85 m
1 0 2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 Metres.

DESCRIPTIONS OF LEVELS:-

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| I | Arabic, Crusader, &c. | 636 A.D. | c. XIX th. cent |
| II | Byzantine (Christian) | 330 A.D. | 636 A.D. |
| III | Hellenistic-Roman | 301 B.C. | 329 A.D. |
| IV | Late Ramesside, &c. | 1224 B.C. | 302 B.C. |
| V | Rameses II | 1292 " " | 1225 " " |
| VI | Seti I (Late Seti & Early Seti) | 1313 " " | 1292 " " |
| VII | Amenophis III & Post Amenophis III | 1411 " " | 1314 " " |
| VIII | Pre-Amenophis III | 1447 " " | 1412 " " |
| IX | Thothmes III | 1501 " " | 1447 " " |

NOTE: The Philistines and Israelites were in Nº IV level. The two Temples in Nº V level were in use until about Israelitish times.

SPECIAL SECTION A-B (enlarged) through top of TELL EL-HOSN, showing in schematic form the Levels Excavated in the Great "Cutting."

# EXCAVATIONS OF THE MUSEUM OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
# AT BETH-SHAN, PALESTINE,
# DURING THE YEARS 1921-1927.

January 1928

# PART II: THE HISTORY OF BETH-SHAN

## LIST OF CITY-LEVELS, ETC.

Until we have excavated the whole of the tell, the cemeteries and other remains of Beth-shan, it will of course be impossible to write anything approaching a full history of the site, and for the present we must content ourselves with drawing such information as we can from our excavation notes and from the works of various writers ranging from the old Egyptian scribes to comparatively modern visitors to Palestine. This information however is fairly comprehensive and will give a general indication of the importance of Beth-shan in days gone by.

We have already mentioned in Part I that nine main city-levels have so far been discovered on the tell. The relative positions of these levels are given in schematic form in the lower section on Pl. 1, where also the positions of the various sacred buildings are indicated by reference letters. The levels have been numbered in order from the *top* of the tell downwards. Thus No. I is the latest level and No. IX the earliest level. It is only No. I level that has actually been cleared away all over the tell. In order to fix the dates of certain upper levels which came to light on the upper part of the mound, we were forced, during the 1925, 1926, 1927 and 1928 seasons, to make a great cutting in the south side of the mound down to No. IX level (Pl. 2, No. 2). Had we simply gone ahead and removed the whole of each city-level as we came across it, and not made the cutting, it would have been many years before we could have established anything like a correct system of dating for our excavations. That our method is justified is shown by the chronological material obtained. The levels on the tell not reached by our excavations are indicated on Pl. 1 by oblique hatching.

Brief details of the city-levels are here given in tabular form:

| CITY-LEVEL ON TELL | HISTORICAL PERIODS REPRESENTED BY EACH LEVEL | DATES |
|---|---|---|
| IX | THOTHMES III (*Canaanite Temple*,—Dedicated to "Mekal, the lord of Beth-shan"; and possibly another temple for his female counterpart). | 1450 – 1436<br>c. ~~1~~501 B. C.–1447 B. C. |
| VIII | PRE-AMENOPHIS III | 1447 B. C.–1412 B. C. |
| VII | AMENOPHIS III, etc. A small upper stratum was found in a part of this level (*Canaanite Temple* and traces of a small shrine on the western side of the temple) | 1411 B. C.–1314 B. C. |
| VI | SETI I. Two levels—Late Seti; Early Seti, (*Canaanite Temple*) | 1313 B. C.–1292 B. C. |
| V | RAMESES II (*Two Canaanite Temples*,—southern one for the god Resheph—the "temple of Dagon" of I *Chronicles*, x, 10; and northern one for the goddess Antit—the "house of Ashtaroth" of I *Samuel*, xxxi, 10. Both were in use until at least Israelitish times, *i. e.*, c. 1000 B. C.). | 1292 B. C.–1225 B. C. |
| IV | LATE RAMESSIDE, PHILISTINE, ISRAELITE, ASSYRIAN, SCYTHIAN, NEW BABYLONIAN, OLD PERSIAN, ETC | 1224 B. C.–302 B. C. |
| III | HELLENISTIC (*Temple*), JEWISH AND ROMAN | 301 B. C.–329 A. D. |

Since 1933 when work stopped

18 Levels now known from 3500 BC

Level 17 in the 18th Dyn of Egypt

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| II | BYZANTINE, or Eastern Roman Christian (*Circular Church*) | 330 A. D.–636 A. D. |
| I | ARABIC (*Mosque*), CRUSADER, etc. | 636 A. D.–C. XIXth Cent. |

The two Canaanite temples in No. V level were undoubtedly in use during the early part of No. IV era, that is to say, during Late Ramesside, Philistine and perhaps even Israelitish times (*i. e.*, to about 1000 B. C.). As such was evidently not the case with many non-religious buildings, we have, with the above exceptions and until further excavations finally decide the point, identified No. V level as a whole with the era of Rameses II. It is just possible, as we shall see later on, that the level provisionally named "Late Seti" actually belongs to the early part of the reign of Rameses II. Fairly long accounts of all the above mentioned Canaanite temples will be found in articles by the present writer in the *Quarterly Statement* of the P.E.F. for April, 1927, pp. 67–84, and April, 1928, pp. 73–90; and in *The Museum Journal* for the years 1925 to 1929 inclusive. The four temples in city-levels Nos. VII, VI, and V will shortly be published in full in a special volume. Therefore, as the objects found in the two temples of Thothmes III and in the Pre-Amenophis III level, will not be included in that volume, some account of them is presented later on in the present work.

It is interesting to compare the above nine levels with the following generally accepted chronological classification of Palestinian archæology (left column) and to note how much more detailed is our Beth-shan classification so far as the late Canaanite period is concerned.

| | TELL LEVELS, BETH-SHAN |
|---|---|
| 1. STONE AGE: | |
| I. Palæolithic | .... |
| II. Neolithic | .... |
| 2. BRONZE AGE: | |
| I. Early Canaanite: to 2000 B. C. | .... |
| II. Middle Canaanite: 2000–1600 B. C. | .... |
| III. Late Canaanite: 1600–1200 B. C. | Levels IX, VIII, VII, VI, V |
| 3. IRON AGE: | |
| I. Early Palestinian, (*a*) Philistine, (*b*) Israelite: 1200–600 B. C. | Earlier part of level IV |
| II. Middle Palestinian, (*a*) Jewish, (*b*) Hellenistic: 600–100 B. C. | Later part of level IV; earlier part of level III |
| III. Late Palestinian, (*a*) Roman, (*b*) Byzantine: 100 B. C.–636 A. D. | Later part of level III; level II |
| 4. MODERN: | |
| I. Early Arab: 636–1100 A. D.<br>II. Middle Arab: 1100–1500 A. D.<br>III. Late Arab: from 1500 A. D. | Level I |

## BEFORE THE TIME OF THOTHMES III

Before we deal with the history of the nine main levels, we must give details of what little is known about the history of Beth-shan before the time of Thothmes III. Of the Palæolithic and Neolithic Ages nothing much can be said, as no remains (except those referred to in Pl. 58), dating from those times have as yet been discovered in the district. It was in the base of a small narrow trial trench (Pl. 14) made in the north side of the tell in 1921 (cf. *The Museum Journal*, March, 1922, pp. 34, 36), and in the great northern cemetery, in both instances in graves of about the beginning of the Middle-Canaanite period (2000–1600 B. C.), that were found the earliest skeletal traces of man in Beth-shan. Several of the cemetery graves in question were cleared out during the 1926 season with interesting results. Each of these graves consists of a roughly circular subterranean chamber with a small passage leading to it, the entrance of which is blocked by a single large stone. In a good many instances, owing to the poor nature of the rock, the roof has collapsed, thus destroying the body and some of the pottery, where these had not already been destroyed by the ancient tomb robbers. The bodies appear to have been laid in a crouching position without any systematic orientation of the corpse. In one of the graves were a large ledge-handled pot, a single-handled jug, an open Canaanite pottery lamp with four spouts, etc. (Pl. 15, No. 1). From certain of these interments, including that just mentioned, have been recovered long pointed javelin heads of bronze. The base of the javelin is twisted into a kind of hook so that the weapon could easily be affixed to its shaft; see the example shown in the above mentioned plate. No articles of jewellery or adornment whatever have come from these graves. The people of this period must have been in a low stage of culture, and it is interesting to observe that no objects which could be ascribed to a foreign source were found with the bodies. A beautiful amethyst scarab dating to somewhere about the same period as these graves was found in No. IX city-level in 1927 (Pl. 34, No. 1); this bore the name of Sesostris I of the XIIth Dynasty (1970–1935 B. C.), and came from the inner sanctuary of the temple of the god Mekal.

The next objects in order of date discovered at Beth-shan belong to the Hyksos era and comprise an inscribed jar handle and many scarabs. These were found in various graves in the great northern cemetery and in various levels on the tell, all dating to periods later than the time of the Hyksos. The Hyksos were Asiatics, doubtless Semites, who about 1675 B. C. entered Egypt,[34] the northern part of which, together probably with Palestine and Syria, they apparently controlled from the city of Avaris on the extreme east of the Nile Delta. They were driven out of Egypt by Ahmose I (1580–1557 B. C.), and the remnants of their power were finally destroyed by Thothmes III (1501–1447 B. C.[35]) when, about 1479 B. C., he crushed the confederacy of Canaanite and Syrian tribes at Megiddo, an ancient town not very far northwest of Beth-shan, the site of which is now being excavated by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Although nothing is as yet known of local conditions during the Hyksos era, it may be mentioned that some believe that the Hebrews themselves entered Egypt during the time of the Hyksos and left the country at the expulsion of their patrons or shortly afterwards.[36] However this may be, the Old Testament states that they journeyed to Egypt in the days of Joseph, the son of Jacob, who according to an interesting story in the old Jewish *Book of Jubilees*, xxix, 14–16, written in Hebrew by a Pharisee between the years 135–105 B. C., pastured his sheep near Beth-shan. Jacob "crossed the Jordan, and dwelt beyond the Jordan, and he pastured his sheep from the sea of the heap (corr. text—doubtless Galilee) unto Beth-shan, and unto Dothan and unto the forest of Akrabbim. And he sent to his father Isaac of all his substance, clothing, and food, and meat, and drink, and milk, and butter, and cheese, and some dates of the valley."[37]

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[34] Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, 2nd ed., p. 214.

[35] *Op. cit.*, p. 220.

[36] Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, 5th ed., p. 409. I personally am in agreement with this belief.

## NO. IX CITY-LEVEL—THOTHMES III

When Thothmes III defeated the tribes at Megiddo in 1479 B. C., he probably afterwards sent a part of his army to take Beth-shan, as it is referred to in both the Karnak lists of the places conquered by him.[38] Scarabs bearing the name of the king have been found in various levels on the tell; one of the examples which came from No. IX city-level is shown on Pl. 34, No. 2. A scarab of Queen Hatshepsut, with whom he was co-regent for many years, was discovered under the steps of the temple of Amenophis III.

In the excavated portion of the Thothmes III level, which was unearthed in 1927 and 1928, are two buildings one of which (the southern one) is certainly a Canaanite temple (Pls. 16, 17, 57). Both are made of brick with stone foundations and have low brick pedestals on their walls, evidently for the purpose of holding the posts supporting the boards with which the buildings seem to have been screened. The southern building, the larger of the two, was made for a local god called "Mekal, the lord of Beth-shan", while the northern building, if it is indeed a temple, was doubtless made for his female counterpart. An analogy to these two buildings is to be seen in the level of Rameses II where we found a large southern temple dedicated to the god Resheph and a small northern temple dedicated to the goddess Antit-Ashtoreth.

The northern temple(?) of Thothmes III is not yet entirely cleared. It consists of a room, roughly rectangular in shape, with a dividing wall running across it from south to north. There are four low brick pedestals on its eastern wall and a flight of five steps on its northern side leading down to a lower level, as yet only partially excavated. Nothing of importance has so far come from the temple itself, but in a room to the southwest of it was lying a pottery bowl with an undulating serpent in high relief on its exterior. This serpent-bowl is of the utmost importance, as it indicates that ophiolatry, so prevalent in Beth-shan during the reigns of all the later Egyptian kings who controlled the town, was already practised there in the time of Thothmes III. From the various figurines of serpents with breasts of a woman found on the tell, it seems fairly certain that the serpent-deity of the town was a female one. Perhaps the goddess worshipped in the northern temple (?) of Thothmes III was in serpent form. Was her original name Shakhan (see above, footnote 5)? The building referred to is seen in the foreground in Pl. 16, No. 1.

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[37] Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, ii, p. 57.

[38] Cf. G. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 360, footnote 2. In spite of the remarks of the footnote in question, our excavations have now proved that the place referred to in the Egyptian text is Beth-shan. See also W. Max Müller, *Die Palästinaliste Thutmosis III, Mitt. d. Vorderasiat. Gesellsch.*, 1907, 1; *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, p. 193, and Sethe; *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, p. 786. Chabas, *Voyage d'un Égyptien*, 1866, pp. 203–205, makes the correct identification, a fact which is referred to by Maspero, *The Struggle of the Nations*, p. 133, footnote 4. Probably the foundation of No. IX city-level actually took place in 1479 B. C., but until more evidence is forthcoming on this point, we are provisionally dating the event at 1501 B. C., the first year of the king's reign.

The great southern temple of Thothmes III is some 39 metres (about 128 ft.) in length from south to north, but its breadth is much greater as will be seen by a reference to the map of the level of Thothmes III accompanying this chapter (Fig. 1). The rooms of the temple consist of:

(1) *The Inner Sanctuary.*—This has an internal measurement from south to north of 14 metres (46 ft.). It contains two altars, one of brick and one of stone (Pl. 18, No. 1). Upon the former altar, which has a flight of three steps leading up to it as well as a stone libation basin on its eastern side for blood offerings to the deity, were originally placed the various sacred objects, jewellery, beads, pottery, and so on, which were found lying on the ground round about. Among these objects were a beautifully decorated libation cup; a two-handled cylindrical cult stand for holding flowers and fruit; a gold-covered bronze figurine of a god; a pottery figurine of the goddess Ashtoreth; the amethyst scarab of Sesostris I (Pl. 34, No. 1) already referred to above; an ivory inlay representing a seated man with prognathous features, his arms raised to the level of his head; an ivory cosmetic pot on a stand; Canaanite single-spouted open lamps of pottery; part of a pig-headed cylindrical cult object; two Cypriote gold pins; scarabs and scaraboids; a steatite jewellery mould; and a Hittite bronze dagger with a curved end. This dagger is very much like a dagger worn by a Hittite king represented on a gateway in the Hittite capital of Boghaz-keui in Anatolia (Pl. 35, No. 1); and it is interesting to note that the axe which the king holds is similar to an axe found in the Amenophos III temple at Beth-shan in 1926 (Pl. 35, No. 2). Cf. Garstang, *The Hittite Empire*, p. 85 f. Other objects found in the sanctuary were a very good portable panelled Cretan(?) altar stand of basalt with a cross with knobbed ends in high relief on its top, and a fragment of an Egyptian green glazed faience bowl bearing on it a few hieroglyphs which form part of the name of some god, and perhaps part of the name "Beth-shan". The former object is shown in Pl. III of my article in the *Quarterly Statement*, P.E.F., April, 1928. There are two entrances to the inner sanctuary, one at the southwest and one at the northeast.

(2) *The Sacrificial-altar Room.*—This room, which is just south of the inner sanctuary, has a great sacrificial altar of brick built into its north wall (Pl. 18, No. 2). The altar has two steps leading up to it from the entrance passage at the southwest of the sanctuary; in its top is a channel for conveying the blood of the sacrificed animals to an outlet at the east of the altar. In the southern side of the channel is a socket for the peg to which the animal was tethered. Just against the south side of the altar were lying the two horns of a bull that had been sacrificed upon the altar. A beautiful vase with designs in black and red came from the room; it is supported by four curved legs on a large base and is of a type unknown elsewhere.

(3) *The Southern Corridor of Temple* (Pl. 19, No. 2).—This, like the inner sanctuary, was reserved for the use of the priests, so that they could enter the outer part of the temple and pour blood libations upon the *mazzebah*, or sacred stone column (Pls. 21; 22, No. 1), in the room to the north of the east end of the corridor. The *mazzebah* consists of a cone-shaped piece of basalt 50 centimetres high resting upon a base of unhewn stones. About 120 centimetres to the southwest of the *mazzebah* is a basalt libation bowl. The floor around the *mazzebah* and bowl is of brick. Against the west wall of the *mazzebah*-room there is a stone base which was perhaps the pedestal whereon the stela showing the figure of Mekal, the god of the temple, was placed. The stela (Pl. 33) was found very near this point. The *mazzebah* of course was the local Canaanite emblem of Mekal; but as this did not suffice for the Egyptian conquerors, who could hardly visualize a god other than in human, animal or some such shape, they made an anthropomorphic figure of the god. As a matter of fact, the whole of the southern temple really forms a combination of an old Canaanite "High Place"—generally a crudely walled sanctuary open to the sky, with *mazzeboth* in it—and a Temple with Altars, etc. The "High Place" part of the Thothmes temple is of course the part containing the *mazzebah* and libation bowl. We have therefore and for the first time in the history of excavation, actually discovered the transition from the representation of a god in the form of a column to his representation in human form and also the transition from a "High Place" to a Temple. The stela of

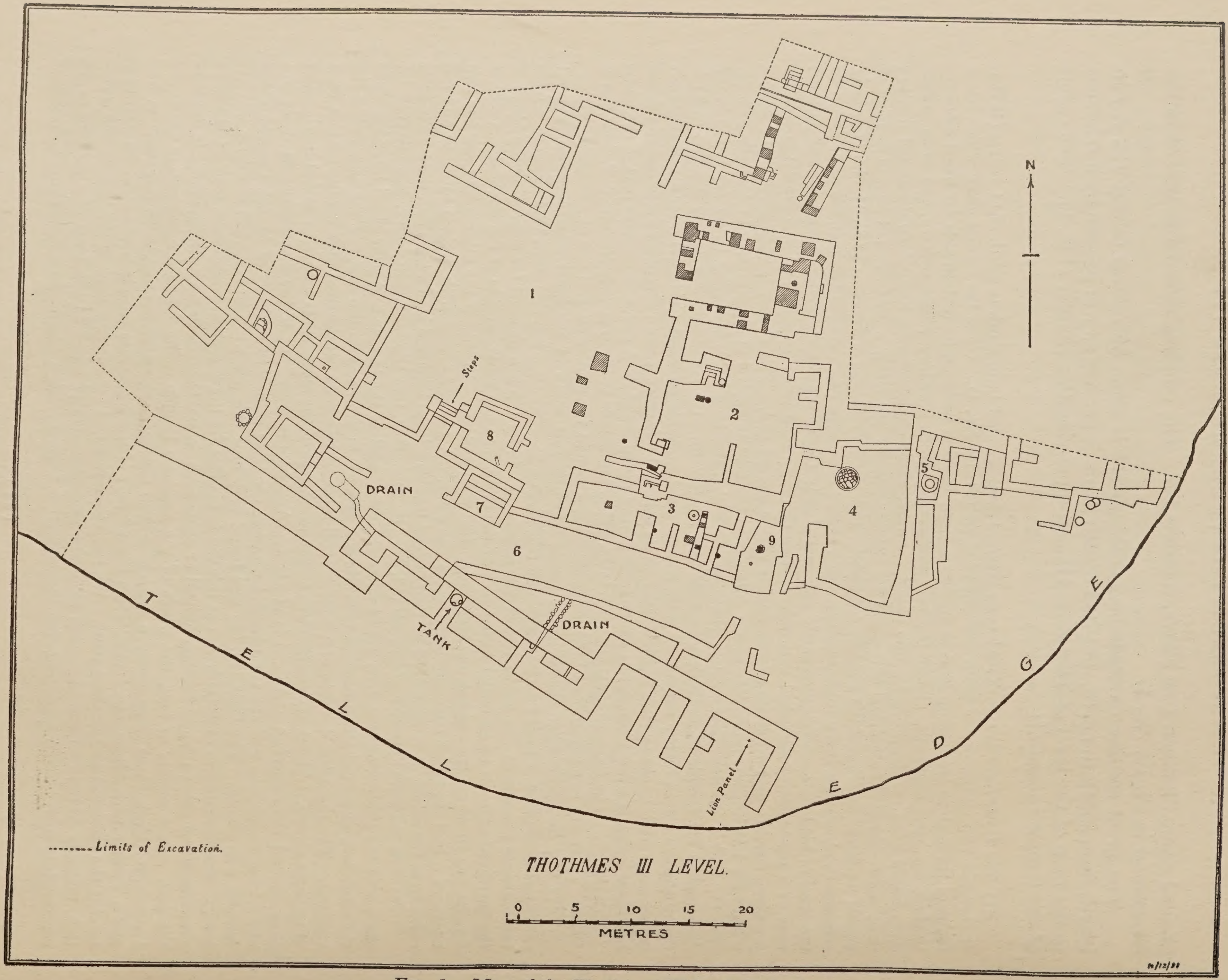
N
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
Steps
DRAIN
DRAIN
TANK
Lion Panel
TELL EDGE
------- Limits of Excavation.
THOTHMES III LEVEL.
0
5
10
15
20
METRES
11/12/28

FIG. 1.—Map of the Thothmes III level, Beth-shan.

Mekal will be described later. A number of cigar-shaped models of bread-cakes (cf. the "cakes of the queen of heaven" of *Jeremiah*, vii, 17 *sq.*), each 9 centimetres in length, were found in the corridor. Near the models was lying the snout-portion of a pottery hippopotamus, perhaps from some cylindrical cult-object. This animal (like the pig mentioned above) was in Egypt connected with the god Set, and affords further evidence of the presence of the local worship of a deity with the attributes of Set or Sutekh, the god of storms, etc., and the more or less associated Resheph, the god of lightning, etc. In the western end of the southern corridor, which being on a higher level than the courtyard itself has a flight of steps, five in all, leading up to it from the courtyard, is a great stepped altar 5.13 metres (16 ft. 10 in.) wide, and 3.61 metres (11 ft. 10 in.) deep (Pl. 20, No. 1). There is a balustrade on each side of the steps. That the altar was connected in some way with the cult of Mekal is quite evident. Near it was lying a bætyl or small portable conical stone of basalt, 26 centimetres high, which, like the *mazzebah* at the eastern end of the corridor, was a Canaanite emblem of the local Baal. The Egyptian evidence indicates that the god, like the king, ruled from his seat on the top of a flight of steps; and it seems quite certain that the Canaanites of Beth-shan also believed that their deities sometimes dwelt upon the top of stepped altars from which, no doubt, like their counterparts in Egypt, they ruled over their domains.

(4) *The Courtyard west of the Inner Sanctuary.*—This courtyard has a door at its east end leading into the inner sanctuary and one at its west leading into an area as yet unexcavated. In the courtyard we found the socket of the pole upon which the carcasses of the sacred animals were suspended after the animals were sacrificed upon the altar in the room south of the inner sanctuary. Near the pole were lying the collar-bone of a bull, a bronze sacrificial dagger, and also a heavy bronze pendant on which was represented a lion leaping on a bull. There seems to be hardly any doubt that this pendant was suspended from the neck of the animal to be sacrificed, which animal, we may well assume, was perambulated in the courtyard so that the laity could see and admire it. Doubtless all the skeletal remains of the bull found in the temple belonged to one and the same animal which must have been the last to be sacrificed in the temple. Its age was fixed by Mr. H. J. Hine, at three years, and in this respect we are at once reminded of the sacrificed bullock of three years old referred to in I *Samuel*, i, 24 and 25, R. V., margin. In the centre of the courtyard are two table-like structures of brick with a small brick pedestal between them. Upon these two tables were doubtless placed those cooked portions of the sacrificed bull which were not offered up to the deity in the inner sanctuary and which were eaten by the laity outside the temple itself. The portions for the deity were probably eaten in the sanctuary by the priests (see I *Samuel*, ii, 14 *sq.* and I *Samuel*, i, 18, in the LXX; also Driver, *Books of Samuel*, p. 15). The small pedestal between the tables perhaps held the implements with which the flesh was divided (cf. *Ezekiel*, xl, 42). In the southern part of the courtyard is a small room with a *mastabah* or low "seat" on the inner side of the north wall and part of the east wall (Pl. 19, No. 1). The room has two entrances, one at the west leading out onto the centre of the small flight of steps connecting the courtyard with the southern corridor, and one at the east leading into the courtyard itself. The south wall of the room is actually the wall against which the great altar in the southern corridor is built. In the southeastern corner of the room is a sloping socket which once contained a wooden peg. It seems fairly obvious that the room was intended for the use of a temple guardian; perhaps a dog was tethered to the peg, the animal assisting the guardian in his duties. In any case, as we shall see presently, the *mythological* guardian of the temple was a dog. A general view of the right of the courtyard is seen on Pl. 17.

(5) *The Room east of the Inner Sanctuary.*—This has its entrance at the south near the *mazzebah*-room in the southern corridor. In its northern end there is a great circular fireplace built of stones, about 2.03 metres (6 ft. 8 ins.) in diameter, and 69 centimetres (2 ft. 3 ins.) in depth. Three pieces of bent bronze wire, ashes, charred bones, horns, etc., were found in the fireplace which must have been used for roasting the animals sacrificed in the temple to the deity. We have already seen that one of these animals was a bull. Among the remains in the fireplace was also the upper portion of a figurine of the goddess Ashtoreth, represented as wearing a wig and supporting one of her breasts with her left hand; the figurine is burnt by fire and seems to have been thrown into the fireplace as an offering. Just to the east of this room is a small room containing the deep well referred to in Part I of this volume. This well, as we have already seen,

is about 42 feet deep, and had an internal diameter of 86 centimetres (2 ft. 10 in.). It is the oldest dated well known in Palestine and was associated with the Mekal temple. Its sides are lined with brick down to a depth of 11.89 metres (39 ft.) from its top, after which they are composed merely of the artificial débris into which the well is sunk. At the very bottom of the well is the original soil, resembling alluvial sand, covering the low rock knoll on which the tell is situated. From the débris in the well came fragments of pottery of various periods, including some of the Middle-Canaanite period (2000-1600 B. C.), and thirty-two flints presumably belonging to the Thothmes III period. See Pl. 20, No. 2.

(6) *The Room north of the Inner Sanctuary.*—The exact significance of this room is not yet certain. On its eastern wall was found a pole-socket the use of which is doubtful; perhaps, however, the pole was an *asherah*, the wooden counterpart of the stone *mazzebah.* Beyond pottery models of a bowl and pot and a quantity of basalt weights (cf. the sacred weights, "shekels", of *Exodus*, xxx, 13 and 24, xxxviii, 24 and 26; *Leviticus*, v, 15, xxvii, 3 and 25, etc.) nothing much was found in the room, but on the *outside* of its northeastern corner we discovered a very nice head of a basalt statuette of a person wearing a wig of Egyptian type. The room is seen in the foreground of Pl. 17.

The more important objects found in the Mekal temple are shown in *The Museum Journal* for December, 1927, June, 1928, and March, 1929, and in the *Quarterly Statement*, P.E.F., for April, 1929.

The stela of Mekal, "the lord of Beth-shan", (Pl. 33) is of the utmost importance, as it not only provides us with the name of the local Baal, who is here met with for the first time in history, but also gives us a representation of the god himself. The monument was made for a "builder" named Amen-em-Apt by his son Pa-Ra-em-Heb.

On *the upper register of the stela* is shown Mekal seated on a throne holding the *was* sceptre of "happiness" in his left hand and the *ankh* symbol of "life" in his right hand. He is bearded, has an ornamented collar, and wears a conical helmet with two horns and two streamers attached to it. The helmet is Babylonian in appearance and is also very much like the helmet with two horns and streamer worn by the god Set or Sutekh figured on the stela of the XIXth or XXth Dynasty from Sinai published by Petrie (*Researches in Sinai*, p. 126, fig. 134), and by Gardiner and Peet (*The Inscriptions of Sinai*, Pl. LXXIX, No. 308, p. 15). Mekal is also dressed like the figure of the god Sutekh on a stela in the Berlin Museum (Max Müller, *Egyptian Mythology*, p. 155); cf. also the headdress of Resheph shown on Pl. XXV, No. 6, of the publication by Père Vincent referred to below. We as yet know nothing definite from other sources about Mekal. In late Phœnician inscriptions found in Cyprus are references to a god called Mekel or Reshep-Mekel, the latter being translated into Greek as "Apollo Amyclæus", generally identified with the Apollo of Amyclæ in Lacedæmon. See *C.I.S.*, I, 86 A-B (list of temple payments from the fourth century B. C.); *C.I.S.*, I, 90, 91, 93, 94 (mention of Reshep-Mekel as the chief god of Idalium in Cyprus); *C.I.S.* I, 89 (reference to Apollo Amyclæus); Cooke, *A Textbook of North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 76, etc.; Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, pp. 126 *sq.*, 306 *sq.*; and Fennell, *Encyc. Brit.*, *s. v.* "Hercules", 13th ed., vol. xiii, p. 346 (reference to the god Makar who, like Mekel, is doubtless to be identified with the Phœnician Melkart). See further L. H. Vincent, *Le ba'al cananéen de Beisan et sa parèdre*, in *Revue Biblique*, October, 1928, pp. 512–543; and also Power, *The Ancient Gods and Language of Cyprus*, in *Biblica*, X, 1929, pp. 129–169, who makes some instructive remarks about the Mekal of Beth-shan and the Cypriote Mekel.

Whether the Phoenician Mekel is a later form of the old Canaanite deity Mekal worshipped at Beth-shan is very doubtful, but in any case the god on the Beth-shan stela may be a form of Resheph. We certainly know that Resheph was the Baal of Beth-shan in the time of Rameses II, for we found his figure in the southern temple of that king—the "temple of Dagon" of I *Chronicles*, x, 10 (Pl. 34, No. 4). In this instance Resheph wears the conical crown with the head of a gazelle and two streamers attached to it and holds a scimitar in his left hand and *aṅkh* in his right hand. *Resheph* means "fiery shafts", "lightning", "burning heat", "pestilence", etc., while it is just possible that *Mekal* may be connected with the verb *ākal*—see, for instance, II *Kings*, i, 14—meaning "to devour". If this is so, the attributes of Resheph, the god of heat, pestilence, etc., are practically the same as those of Mekal, "The Fierce Devourer", whose name must surely refer to the great heat and general unhealthfulness of Beth-shan in the summer time. It might be, however, that *Mekal* is an intentional transposition of the word *Melek* (=Molech; see *Jeremiah*, xxxii, 35), "king", the god of devouring fire and pestilence. Compare also the proper names in the address to the god Amen in Chapter 165 of *The Book of the Dead*: "Melgati (var. Melqati) is thy name; Leleti is thy name." Both these names are obviously in the feminine, the first being "Queen" and the second "Lilith" the night demon (Cf. *Isaiah*, xxxiv, 14). See Pleyte, *Chapitres supplĕmentaries au Livre des Morts*, text vol., pl. 99; translation vol., pp. 35, 39–40.

Above the figure of the god on the stela from the Thothmes temple are written the words "Mekal, the [great] god, the lord of Beth-shan". Between the sceptre and the face of the deity is shown some object which is now partly broken away. In front of Mekal are the figures of Amen-em-Apt and Pa-Ra-em-Heb. The five lines of inscription above read: "Made for the builder Amen-em-Apt, true of word, by his son, Pa-Ra-em-Heb." (The word translated "by" consists of a *yodh*, and a badly made *n*—the picture of the crown of North Egypt.)

The *lower register of the stela* originally had four lines of vertical text the last one of which, now broken away, mentioned the name of Pa-Ra-em-Heb. The text contains a prayer to Mekal, the "great god", and reads as follows: "An-offering-which-the-king-gives to Mekal, the great god, that he may give to thee life, prosperity and health, keen vision, honour and love, a prosperous mouth, the footstep [in its] place, [until] thou reachest a venerated state in peace. For the *ka* ('double') of the favoured of his god, the builder, Amen-em-Apt, true of word, [and his son Pa-Ra-em-Heb]." To the right of the hieroglyphs are a flower, an altar stand, and parts of the figures of the father and son.

Immediately to the south of the Mekal temple is the great outer fort wall enclosing the southern end of the level of Thothmes III. For a greater part of its length the wall is a double one, of a maximum overall width of 4.83 metres (15 ft. 10 in.), with small rooms inside it. At the east end of the outer side of the fort wall there are three great towers of a depth of 5.74 metres (18 ft. 10 in.), the average width of the two outer towers being 140 centimetres (4 ft. 7 in.), and of the inner tower 2.36 metres (7 ft. 9 in.). It was in the easternmost of the three bays formed by the towers that we unearthed a basalt panel on which were represented lions and dogs.

This beautiful panel was found on November 20, 1928, which day is therefore a red-letter one in the annals of the Expedition. The panel which was probably placed against one of the two doors of the inner sanctuary of the Mekal temple, is sculptured in high relief and contains two registers; it is about 92 centimetres (3 ft.) high. See Froni spiece.

*Upper Register:* This depicts a lion fighting with a dog. On the shoulder of the lion is a tuft of hair somewhat resembling a star; the star itself is usually the indication of a superior being and is seen on representations of lions from Palestine as follows: Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer*, II, p. 442, fig. 524; Reisner, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria*, I, p. 333; II, pl. 80; and Schumacher, *Tell el-Mutesellim*, p. 88, fig. 128. The lion seems to show Mitannian or perhaps Assyro-Babylonian influence and evidently represents Nergal, the god of plague and death. Professor Garstang (*The Hittite Empire*, p. 331) parallels the art of the panel to that of the monuments of Tell Halaf or Ros el-'Ain, upon the Khabur, in the heart of the Mitannian area. "This carving", he says "is a veritable link between Babylonia and Egypt, indeed between East and West; and the nearest prototypes are to be found . . . in Northern Mesopotamia." A stela fragment indicating that Thothmes III fought against the people of Mitanni (a country to the northeast of Syria) was recently found at Tell el-'Oreimeh, just northwest of the Sea of Galilee, and was published by Dr. Albright and myself in the *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, November, 1928, pp. 281–287. As the Beth-shan panel must have been set in the door of the temple, the dog thus guarded the entrance against the lion, who brought death and destruction. The dog is like the dogs employed in the hunt, the finest specimens of which are preserved for us in the palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh. The Assyrians were in the habit of burying figures of dogs under the thresholds of their houses so that the spirits of the dogs could repulse any evil spirits who tried to make an entry into the house. References to other lions and dogs from Palestine, etc., are given in *The Museum Journal*, March, 1929, pp. 48, 50. See also the dog-like animal on the hæmatite seal from Beth-shan figured by Macalister, *Quarterly Statement*, P.E.F., April, 1907, p. 130. Two Late Hittite(?) panels at Tiberias (Garstang, *The Hittite Empire*, Pl. LIII(b), and Creswell, *Bulletin de l'Institut Franc. d'arch.*, XXVI, p. 151) show respectively the figures of two lions and two gazelles, and two lions resting their paws on the heads of two bulls (cf. the lion-and-bull pendant in our Mekal Temple).

*Lower Register:* This depicts the majestic lion of Nergal being attacked by a dog who is biting his back. In biblical times, as is seen from *Jeremiah*, xlix, 19, lions were present in the Jordan Valley. Figurines of the lion and of the dog have been found in various levels on the tell, while bricks with impressions of the paws of dogs were found in the Rameses II level.

Summing up the significance of the scenes sculptured on the panel, it may be said that the upper register shows the lion trying to enter the temple, and the lower register, the same animal being driven away from it. It will be noticed that the tail of the lion in the former instance is in the air and in the latter instance between his legs. That Nergal was known in Palestine will be evident from the details given in my article in *The Museum Journal*, March, 1929.

Apart from the Egyptian influence, one of the main foreign influences at Beth-shan in the time of Thothmes III seems to have been Mediterranean in origin, and this undoubtedly flourished constantly at the site until the time of the Philistines, who were apparently driven out of the fort by King David, about 1000 B. C. "In the fifteenth century B. C.", says Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, i, p. 11, footnote 1, "the sea-paths round the East Mediterranean angle were already, perhaps via Cyprus, bringing Cretan wares to the ports of Canaan, and painted sherds of the later 'Palace style' of Knossos begin to appear in the deposits of its tells. (*E.g.* at Gezer, Macalister, vol. ii, p. 155, fig. 318—part of an alabastron with 8-shaped shields and stars; L. M. I *b*—from the 'Second Semitic' stratum.)" Some traces of Mesopotamian or Syro-Hittite influence are also visible, but to what extent this reached we do not know at present; the panel of the lions and dogs evidently shows affinities with the culture of Mitanni. Nor do we know from where the idea of the temple with altars was introduced into Beth-shan. A Cretan origin for at least some of the temple ordinances must not, however, be entirely ruled out of court, especially when we recollect the prevalence of bull sacrifices in Crete and also the stepped altars, examples of both of which are portrayed on the famous sarcophagus from Hagia Triada: see Dussaud, *Les Civilisations Prêhellêniques*, Pl. D. opposite p. 400 (stepped altar), and fig. 297, p. 405 (bull sacrifice).

## No. VIII City-level—Pre-Amenophis III

City-level No. VIII (Pl. 23), which was discovered in 1926, belongs to the era between Thothmes III and Amenophis III, the founder of No. VII city-level, who came to the throne of Egypt thirty-six years after the death of the former monarch. The era in question thus represents the reigns of Amenophis II (1447[39]–1420 B. C.), the successor of Thothmes III, and Thothmes IV (1420–1412 B. C.). Except for a seal bearing the name of Amenophis II, which was found in the great northern cemetery, no inscribed objects dating from the time of this monarch have yet come to light at Beth-shan. A faience scarab bearing the name of Thothmes IV was found in a drainage pit in the Pre-Amenophis III level in 1928 and this affords further evidence of the correctness of the dating of the level in question. The scarab shows the figure of the king holding an axe and wearing the battle helmet with uræus attached. Before him is the cartouche containing his throne name: *Ra-men-kheperu.*

Very scanty remains of buildings, etc., were found in No. VIII city-level, when it was excavated during the 1926 season. They comprised two groups of roughly-hewn masonry structures: (a), one in the south of the great cutting in the tell, immediately below the Amenophis III temple, and (b), one to the north of the southern group. The southern group consisted chiefly of a fireplace and also of two column bases 163 centimetres apart. The western base is 47 centimetres in diameter and 41 centimetres high, and the eastern base 57 centimetres in diameter and 36 centimetres high. Between the columns was a ledge of stones, on the north side of which was lying a loose block of smooth basalt, long and crudely shaped. The fireplace consisted of an enclosure formed of three walls of rough stones, inside which ashes were found. Outside the fireplace, to the west, was a semicircular stone on which lay a stone roller; these were used for grinding corn (Pl. 23, No. 2). The northern group consisted of two column bases (part of a sanctuary (?)) aligned roughly from northeast to southwest, the southwestern column being built into the eastern end of a small wall of crude stones (Pl. 23, No. 1). Among the objects found in 1926 near these structures were: (1) a cult object, in the shape of a plaque, with a serpent in high relief coiled round its upper part; (2) a cult object in the form of a uræus; (3) heads of pottery figurines of deities (?); (4) a pottery model of a lion; (5) amulets, including one of the god Bes; (6) scarabs, including one of Thothmes III, and one with the representation of an ibex; (7) pendants; (8) beads; (9) faience cylinder seals, most of them doubtless being Syro-Hittite; (10) teeth and bones of an ass—one of the animals associated with Set; (11) horns of gazelles; (12) a flint scraper; (13) an arrow head, spear heads, a dagger point, and a needle with eye, all of bronze; and (14) weights and mortars of basalt.

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[39] Amenophis II was co-regent with Thothmes III for a year (Breasted, *op. cit.*, p. 323), so he really ruled from 1448 B. C.

In the 1927 season, excavations were carried out in that part of the level immediately to the east of the part cleared in the 1926 season and resulted in some interesting finds, including a long street (Pl. 23, No. 3) with houses of brick on each side; one of these houses had a crudely-built cement-lined tank inside it and also on its northern wall pedestals of brick like those on the walls of the Thothmes temples, and a small stone-lined kitchen with a sloping floor of stone containing a water bowl of the same material sunk in its deepest end. One of the most interesting discoveries in this level consisted of a drain found *in situ* beneath the floor of the street (Pl. 22, No. 2). This was made of two 2-handled pottery cylindrical drain-pipes both in a vertical position, the smaller end of the upper one being inserted into the larger end of the lower one. The mouth of the former drain-pipe was on a level with the floor of the street while the base of the latter rested upon some undressed stones. These pipes are almost similar to the drain-pipes with handles, of Middle Minoan I age (2100–1900 B. C.) found in Crete, and published by Evans, *Palace of Minos*, i., p. 143. Other objects consisted of: (1) a pottery mould for making figurines of the goddess Ashtoreth; (2) mud models of cake-offerings, some cylindrical and some like a thick disk with a hole in the centre; (3) various serpent-cult objects one of them representing a serpent with female breasts and a milk-bowl beneath them (cf. the Amenophis III example shown in Pl. 35, Nos. 4, 5); and another, a serpent with female breasts and a small serpent (?) coiled round its neck; (4) the upper part of a life-sized head of a deity in pottery; and (5) part of a pig-headed cylindrical cult object, no doubt connected with the god Set. The fourth object has holes in the top of the head into which perhaps actual plumes were inserted, and also the hair on the head brushed back and very prominent eyebrow ridges, thus indicating Mesopotamian influence.

Judging from the antiquities found, the Mediterranean, as well as the Egyptian influence, was still strong at Beth-shan, while the Syro-Hittite influence was gradually increasing. That from Mesopotamia still seems to have been rather small.

We have so far dealt with the history of Beth-shan to the accession of Amenophis III and we must now describe what we know of the site during the time of this king and of his immediate successors, that is to say, during the period in which No. VII city-level was in existence.

## NO. VII CITY-LEVEL—AMENOPHIS III AND LATER

That Amenophis III (1411–1375 B. C.) was the founder of No. VII city-level (Pls. 26, 27), there seems to be no doubt whatever, for his name appears on a scarab,* on a signet-ring, and on an amulet cartouche, all placed as foundation deposits below the altar steps of the temple[40] in that level. Moreover, a beautiful signet-ring bearing the name of the king was found below the north wall of the temple; this also was a foundation deposit.

The temple (Pls. 24, No. 1; 56, Nos. 3, 4) which may well have been in use until about the time of King Horemheb (1350–1315 B. C.) will be described fully elsewhere in a forthcoming volume, but, in passing, we must mention that its plan is very similar to the plans of certain of the tomb-chapels, shrines in private houses, and a shrine in a river temple, all of the reign of Amenophis IV (Akhenaten) the successor of Amenophis III, found at Tell el-Amârna in Egypt by the Egyptian Exploration Society.[41] It seems quite possible, in view of our discoveries, that the plan of these el-Amârna buildings was taken from that of certain buildings, like the Beth-shan Amenophis III temple, in Syria and Palestine, for the close resemblance between them is too great to be accidental. Further, we must remember the very intimate relationship that existed between the royal houses of Egypt and Western Asia about this time. The grandfather of Amenophis IV (*i. e.*, Thothmes IV) married a princess from the land of Mitanni; his father (Amenophis III)—the outcome of that union—married one or two princesses from that country; while he, himself, was the son of Queen Tiy, who, though she is not generally regarded as being of foreign origin, in spite of her pronounced foreign type of face, was at least the daughter of a man who had been prince of Phœnicia. Amenophis IV succeeded to one of his father's Mitannian princesses (Tadukhipa), who, however, never became his queen, for she is not, as some have supposed, the same person as Queen Nefertiti, which fact is proved by an inscription which speaks of Nefertiti as the daughter of Queen Tiy. These foreign family connections must surely have ultimately influenced the style and characteristics of many of the buildings erected both at el-Amârna and in Palestine.[42]

One of the deities of the temple of Amenophis III was undoubtedly the goddess "Ashtoreth of the Two Horns", for in the inner sanctuary we found a stela depicting her.

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[40] A scarab of Queen Hatshepsut was found in the same place; this has already been referred to on p. 10 above.

[41] Peet and others, *The City of Akhenaten*, I, 38th Memoir of E.E.S. The Amenophis III temple also seems to bear certain analogies to the peculiar un-Babylonian form of cult room discovered in the archaic Ishtar temple at Assur. This cult room itself is believed to have been influenced by early Anatolian culture. The date of the Assur temple is 2700 B. C. or a little earlier. In the room were found cult objects almost identical with some of those unearthed in the Beth-shan Canaanite temples. The cylindrical stands with triangular holes in them found at Assur and at Beth-shan are practically identical with similar objects found in Egypt and dated by their discoverers to the Old Kingdom and the Late Predynastic Era. In other words, the Assur stands are contemporary with the Egyptian stands of the IVth Dynasty. Small models of shrine-houses found at Beth-shan are also very much like similar models from Assur. It certainly looks as if we must ascribe a common origin to all these objects. Sidney Smith, *Early History of Assyria to 1000 B. C.*, p. 68, suggests that the shrine-houses must have been borrowed at Assur from Syria "for the reverse is rendered improbable . . . from the type of building represented".

[42] It has been suggested by Breasted (*Cambridge Ancient History*, ii, p. 114) that in the time of Amenophis IV there was probably an Aten-city in Palestine or Syria, which "may have been in existence under Amenophis III". See also, Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, 5th ed., pp. 265, 300, and L. W. King, *A History of Babylon*, p. 225. This idea, however, is not held by all authorities.

* Y. Yadin "Hazor" p30 states that
these scarabs were quite popular and
continued to be used even into the 13th
such as at Lachish.
Thus these buildings are dated too

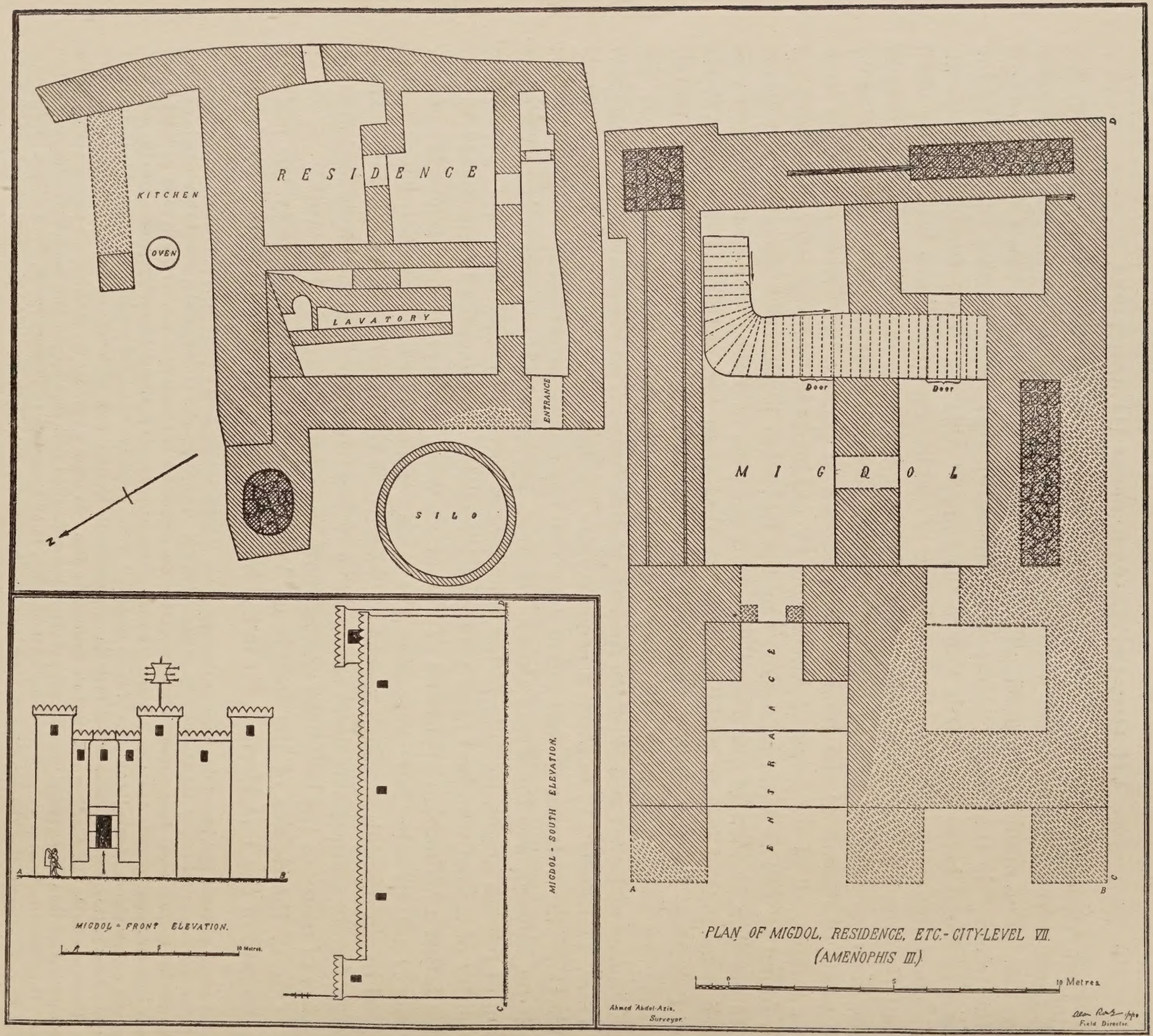
RESIDENCE
KITCHEN
OVEN
LAVATORY
ENTRANCE
SILO
N
MIGDOL
Door
Door
ENTRANCE
A
B
C
D
PLAN OF MIGDOL, RESIDENCE, ETC.- CITY-LEVEL VII.
(AMENOPHIS III.)
0
5
10 Metres
Ahmed Abdel-Aziz,
Surveyor
Alan Rowe 1930
Field Director.
MIGDOL - FRONT ELEVATION.
10 Metres
MIGDOL - SOUTH ELEVATION.

FIG. 2.—Plan of the migdol, commandant's residence, etc., in No. VII city-level, of the time of Amenophis III. See p. 21.

This stela (Pl. 48, No. 2) is of limestone, and was dedicated by a woman, who wears a long flowing garment, has a lotus on her head, and offers a similar flower to the goddess. On the head of the goddess is the conical crown common to Syrian deities, with two horns below, and a streamer attached to the back. Ashtoreth is dressed in a long flowing garment and holds a sceptre in her left hand and the *ankh* sign of "life" in her right hand. At the top of the stela are traces of a single line of painted hieroglyphs, of which nothing can be made out. No doubt the god of the temple was still Mekal, as in the time of Thothmes III. A fragment of another limestone stela showing parts of two figures, one kneeling and one standing, was found in the level in 1925 (Pl. 49, No. 3).

Just to the west of the Amenophis III temple were discovered, in the 1928 season, the almost complete foundations of a large building which appears to be a Canaanite *migdol* or fort-tower, and also the foundations of an adjoining building which may well have been the residence of the Egyptian commandant of the fort. Near the residence was a great brick-lined underground silo for grain, the present capacity of which is 9,270 modern gallons, or 8,530 ancient Egyptian gallons. The *migdol* is rectangular in shape with its entrance at the west. The entrance was flanked by two towers. A similar tower must also have stood at the southwestern corner of the fort a little to the right of the tower guarding the southern part of the entrance. Supporting towers such as these are a feature of all Canaanite *migdols.* Further, the actual entrance of the Amenophis *migdol* is practically the same as the entrance to the Hittite citadel of Carchemish. The *migdol* contained five rooms and also a staircase leading up from the interior to the outer southern wall. The staircase was for the purpose of assembling troops on the top of the fort walls. The *migdol* was doubtless meant to form the last place of refuge in the fort for the commandant and his troops in case the outer fortification walls were breached. A full description of the *migdol,* the residence, and the silo is given in *The Museum Journal,* March, 1929. See also Fig. 2 of the present publication. A military standard found in the Amenophis III level is referred to in footnote 54 below.

It is interesting to observe that at the time in which the temple, *migdol,* etc., were erected and in use, the strongest foreign influences at Beth-shan (apart from the Egyptian) were: (1) *From the Ægean regions, and perhaps even from Cyprus,* just before and during the early part of the Late Helladic [Mycenæan] III period, 1375–1200 B. C.; see especially Evans, *op. cit.*, i, p. 11, footnote 1, for a reference to the imported Ægean pottery of the Tell el-Amârna class found in Palestine; and (2) *Syro-Hittite.* The former influence is represented chiefly by the most interesting models of a Cretan throne and table altar, a *kernos* or ring vase, fragments of a large crater, a quantity of pottery (one jar handle has Cretan and Cypriote linear signs incised on it (Pl. 40, No. 2), weapons, etc.; while the latter influence is represented by a magnificent bronze Hittite axehead (Pl. 35, No. 2), a bronze figure of the Hittite god Teshub, over forty Syro-Hittite cylinder seals (which were recovered from just below the temple floors), a cylinder seal with Hittite hieroglyphs and designs, and a cylindrical cult object with the head of an elephant, which animal was found in the regions between Upper Syria and the Upper Euphrates, and which, doubtless, like the hippopotamus, pig, etc., was associated by the Canaanites with the god Set. The axe is similar to one held in the hands of a Hittite god or king (Pl. 35, No. 1) who mounts guard on the inside face of one of the doors of the ancient Hittite capital at Boghaz-keui in Anatolia;[43] the dagger shown in this sculpture has almost the same shape as a dagger found in the southern temple of Thothmes III on the tell (Pl. 35, No. 3). The Hittite seal is of hæmatite and is by far the most important of its kind found in Palestine (Pl. 36). On it are represented two deities and also an elephant (this is the first occurrence of the animal on cylinder seals) with a vulture above it. Before the elephant stands one of the deities who holds an axe (?) in his right hand. In front of his head is the Hittite hieroglyph usually read as "god". Behind the elephant is the other deity, who wears a conical cap. Against the back of his head is the hieroglyph probably meaning "fort". In front of the latter deity are an ass (a common emblem of Set) and some emblem—an altar (?)—not yet made out. Other Hittite influence seems to be indicated by the style of the gateway of the *migdol*.

The actual route followed by the Ægean influence was doubtless mainly by way of Cyprus from Crete or South Greece, for there was a Mycenæan kingdom founded in Cyprus near the end of the reign of Amenophis III. A quantity of Ægean pottery (said to be of Late Minoan IIIb type) was also found at el-Amârna in Egypt but the question whether this can have been contemporary with Amenophis IV cannot be settled until the site is further excavated.[44]

As to the Hittite influence, it must be remembered that at about the time the Beth-shan temple and *migdol* were built, and according to the famous el-Amârna cuneiform correspondence between Amenophis III and Amenophis IV of Egypt and their official governors and other peoples in Western Asia, the Hittites were intriguing against Egypt in North Syria, and also that Hittite as well as Mitannian chiefs were already in Palestine.[45] We also learn from the same correspondence that bands of nomadic Semites, including the Khabiru and Suti, were advancing into Syria and Palestine. The former people are identified by some with the Hebrews; the latest remarks on the subject are by Sidney Smith, *Early History of Assyria to 1000 B. C.*, pp. 191–194.

It is interesting to note that Beth-shan is actually referred to on one of the tablets of the correspondence. In this letter, Abdi Khiba, or Arad-Khiba,[46] the king of Jerusalem, complains to the king of Egypt that as far as the lands of Seir, and as far as Gath-Carmel, the lands had revolted and were hostile to him; Tagi, a guardian of the

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[43] Puchstein, *Boghasköi, die Bauwerke*, Taf. 18 and 19; L. W. King, *op. cit.*, p. 229; Cowley, *The Hittites*, p. 25; *Revue Biblique*, January, 1927, Pl. III; Bonnet, *Die Waffen der Völker des Alten Orients*, p. 19, fig. 8d. See also Handcock, *Mesopotamian Archæology*, Pl. XXVIII (axehead from Nimrûd).

[44] See especially Peet, *Excavations at Tell el-Amârna*, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vii, pp. 182–184; and Woolley, *Excavations at Tell el-Amârna*, *J.E.Arch.*, viii, pp. 69–70.

[45] Hall, *The People and the Book*, p. 23. According to Sayce, *The Hittites*, pp. 29–32, "Marauding bands [of Hittites] under military adventurers made their way into Canaan, and there sold their services to the Pharaoh, or carved out principalities for themselves with the sword." Some of them "established themselves . . . in the extreme south of Palestine in the vicinity of Hebron. There as we learn from the despatches of the king of Jerusalem [Abdi-Khiba, or Arad-Khiba], they joined the enemies of the Egyptian king and seized a portion of his territory. They probably formed part of that body of raiders . . . who eventually captured Jerusalem . . . At any rate, they serve to explain the existence of Hittite settlers within the borders of the tribe of Judah." See also Sayce, *The Archaeology of the Cuneiform Inscriptions*, pp. 193–194, who thinks that the ruling class in Palestine during the el-Amârna era "was largely of Hittite origin, or had come from those countries to the north whose population was related in blood and language to the Hittites of Asia Minor."

[46] Cf. Burney, *Israel's Settlement in Canaan*, p. 66.

Pharaoh's caravans, had got the land of Gath-Carmel and the men of Gath were in occupation of Beth-shan (Bît-Sâni).[47] Gath-Carmel was situated near the site of the modern Haifâ. From this letter, Père Dhorme thinks that a garrison, which came from the hills of Carmel, established itself in Beth-shan, to maintain the power of Egypt against the Khabiru and various bands of rebels.[48] Among the Egyptian troops used to garrison the country in the el-Amârna period were the Sherdenen or Sardinian mercenaries who are mentioned in the cuneiform tablets. These people doubtless formed a large part of the garrison of Beth-shan during the early part of the Egyptian occupation at this time, and perhaps even from the time of Thothmes III; probably some of them were buried in the pottery anthropoid sarcophagi found in the great northern cemetery (cf. Pls. 37–40).

The influence from Mesopotamia still seems to have been rather small, the most important object from this country consisting of a cylinder seal of lapis lazuli bearing three vertical lines of Babylonian cuneiform and two figures (Pl. 34, No. 3). According to Père Dhorme the text reads: (1) *Ma-a-nu-um* (2) *bâru* (=MÁŠ.SU.GID.GID) (3) *arad* (*ilu*) *En-ki*, that is, "Ma-a-nu-um, the diviner, and servant of the god Enki (*i.e.*, Ea)." This seal, which contains the first cuneiform inscription found at Beth-shan, dates somewhere about the nineteenth or eighteenth century B. C. Whether or not Manum was ever a diviner in one of the earlier sanctuaries which we must assume existed on the tell it is impossible to say. "Diviners" or "soothsayers" are mentioned in *Jeremiah*, 1, 36, and *Isaiah*, xliv, 25 (see *The Old Testament, an American Translation*, edited by Professor J. M. Powis Smith). In connection with the Mesopotamian influence we must not forget the general use in Palestine of Babylonian cuneiform, as exemplified by the el-Amârna correspondence, but no inscribed tablets have so far been found at Beth-shan.

During the 1927 season we found a few rooms which really belonged to a small upper stratum in a part of No. VII city-level, situated to the east of the temple area. One of these rooms had about forty bowls and dishes in it; others had a broken Ashtoreth figurine and a forked antler of a deer which shows traces of having been cut off or sawn off.

Before the death of Amenophis IV, in 1358 B. C., Palestine had passed entirely out of Egyptian control, the main cause being the king's fervid devotion to his religion, which made him neglect the affairs of his empire. After his death, kings Smenkhkara, Tutankhamen, Ai, Horemheb, and Rameses I succeeded one another on the throne of Egypt, which henceforth lost its control over the rich countries of Palestine and Syria until the time of Seti I, the founder of city-level No. VI. Of the local history of Beth-shan during this period nothing is so far known.

## No. VI City-level—Seti I

Palestine was reconquered by Seti I (1313–1292 B. C.) in the first year of his reign. During the course of his campaign he reached Beth-shan where he erected a fort and also a temple over the ruins of No. VII city-level. The town is actually mentioned on a sphinx in his temple at Kûrnah in Egypt; see Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, iii, p. 55. The former temple (Pls. 24, No. 2; 56, Nos. 1, 2) was built immediately above the walls, etc., of the temple of Amenophis III and was doubtless dedicated to Mekal(?), and also to Ashtoreth, as many figurines of the goddess have been found in it. What appear to be the remains of a small temporary shrine with four columns were discovered in the 1928 season just to the west of the temple area. This shrine is described in *The Museum Journal*, March, 1929. See also Fig. 3, of the present publication.

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[47] *Cambridge Ancient History*, ii, p. 317. See also reference to Beth-shan on p. 312, *op. cit.* A version of this letter is also given by Sayce, *The Hittites*, pp. 128–130.

[48] *Revue Biblique*, January, 1927, p. 99.

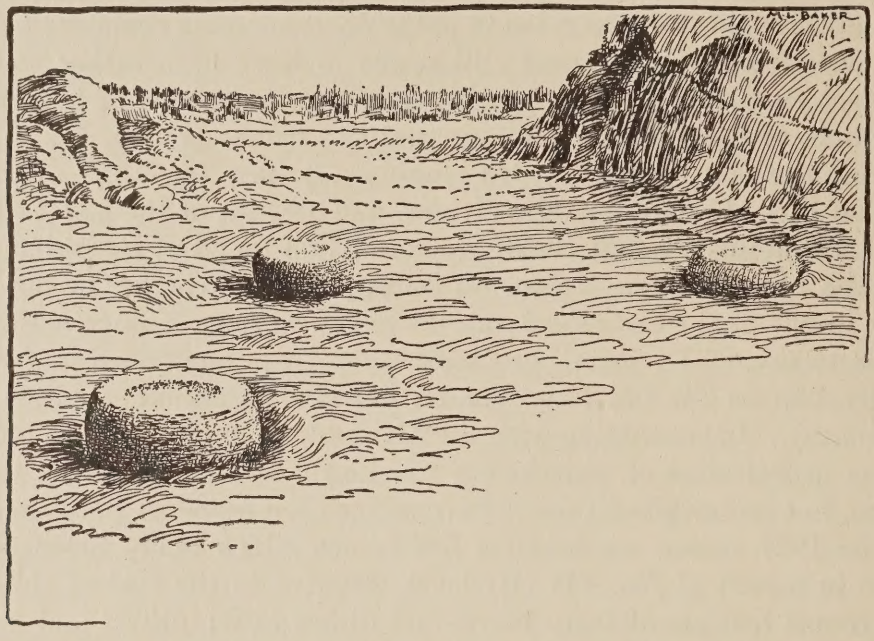

FIG. 3.—Remains of shrine(?) west of Seti I temple, Beth-shan.

The date of the Beth-shan temple and consequently that of the fort of which it formed an integral part, has been accurately fixed by the finding of faience cartouches bearing the name of Rameses I (1315–1314 B. C.), the father and immediate predecessor of Seti, which had been placed as foundation deposits under the walls and floors of the sacred structure. The presence of the name of the former king on the objects is doubtless accounted for by the fact that the Palestinian campaign probably was inaugurated during the time when Seti I was co-regent with Rameses I. However, we find that Seti erected on the tell a stela (Pl. 41; Fig. 4) which is dated in the first year of his reign,[49] and which records among other things his delivery of the fort from invaders from the country on the east side of the Jordan. An invasion from Transjordan seems also to be referred to on another—undated—stela of Seti I (Pls. 42–44) found on the tell (see p. 29 below).

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[49] This stela was found in No. V city-level, and as it was erected next to a large stela of Rameses II (Pl. 46), it must be that the latter monarch brought it up from the lower level when he built his new city on the tell. It is only natural that Rameses should have respected the monument of his father.

On the upper part of the former Seti stela are two figures, the one on the right being Ra-Harmachis ("the great god, the lord of heaven; he grants all life"). The god holds the *was* sceptre of "happiness" in his right hand, and the *ankh* emblem of "life" in his left hand; he is hawk-headed and has the solar disk above him. The other figure is Seti himself, who is said to be "making [offerings of] incense and libations". Seti has his throne name (*Men-Maat-Ra*) written above him in a cartouche, which is preceded by the words "The good god, the lord of the Two Lands", and followed by the phrase "Granted life like Ra". Behind the king are the words "All protection and life are behind him". Between Seti and Ra-Harmachis is an altar stand holding a libation pot and a lotus. Across the top of the stela are the solar disk, uræi, and wings of "Behudet,

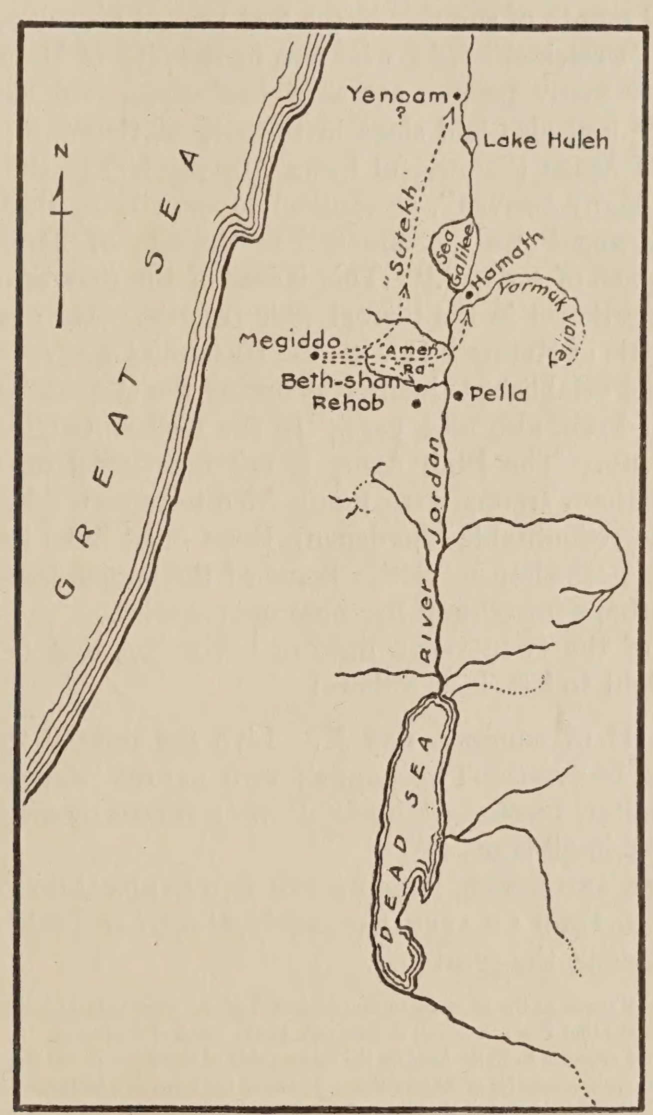
Yenoam
?
Lake Huleh
N
GREAT SEA
"Sutekh"
Sea Galilee
Hamath
Yarmuk Valley
Megiddo
"Amen"
"Ra"
Beth-shan
Rehob
Pella
River Jordan
DEAD SEA

Fig. 4.—Sketch map of sites referred to in Seti I stela dated in the first year of his reign.

the great god, of variegated plumage, the lord of heaven". Behudet was the god of Edfû in Egypt. A fragment of the stela was found in 1925 in the upper level of the southern temple of Rameses II (Pl. 47, No. 3).

On the lower part of the stela are twenty-two lines of text which state that on the tenth day of the third month of summer in the first year of his reign, a messenger came to inform Seti that the "wretched" chief who was in the city of Hamath[50]—a Hittite(?)—had collected together many people, attacked Beth-shan, and allied himself with the people of Pella.[51] He had also laid siege to the city of Rehob.[52] Thereupon the king sent the first Army of Amen ("Powerful Bows", or similar) to the city of Hamath, the First Army of Ra ("Many Braves", or similar) to the city of Beth-shan, and the First Army of Sutekh ("Strong Bows", or similar) to the city of Yenoam,[53] and overthrew the enemy "in the space of a day".[54] This is one of the first times that the Egyptian army divisions are mentioned in the hieroglyphic records. We next meet with them in the account of the battle of Rameses II with the Hittites at Kadesh on the River Orontes (where the Hittites had established themselves during the el-Amârna era), in which battle another army, that of Ptah, also took part. In the Kadesh battle the Army of Ra was somewhat badly cut up. The Ptah Army is not mentioned on the Beth-shan stela. Doubtless among all these troops were many Mediterranean (Ægean-Anatolian) mercenaries, including the redoubtable Sherdenen; these must have formed the major part of the garrison left at Beth-shan by Seti. Some of the cult objects in the temple, such as the *kernoi*, were perhaps introduced by these mercenaries.

The translation of the twenty-two lines of horizontal text (Fig. 5) which, in the original, reads from right to left, is as follows:

1. "Year I, month III of summer, day X. Live the HORUS[1] 'Strong-bull-arising-in-Thebes, making-to-live-the-Two-Lands'; TWO LADIES 'Repeating-births,
2. wielder-of-the-scimitar, crusher-of-the-IX-Bows'; HORUS OF GOLD 'Repeating-risings, powerful-of-bows-in-all-lands';
3. KING OF THE SOUTH AND NORTH, LORD OF THE TWO LANDS 'Men-Maat-Ra, ari-en-Ra'; SON OF THE SUN, LORD OF APPEARANCES 'Seti-meri-en-Ptah'; beloved of Horus-of-the-Two-Horizons, the great god.

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[50] Hamath probably equals el-Hammî, at the entrance to the Yarmûk Valley. Père Vincent and myself are in agreement on this point. Dr. Albright, however, thinks that Hamath is Tell el-Hammeh, to the south of Beth-shan.

[51] Pella is Khirbet Fâhil, about opposite to Beth-shan, on the eastern side of the Jordan. At this place, which I visited in 1923, there is an enormous tell, and also various remains of Roman times, including the ruins of a large temple. Dr. Albright has identified Pella (Pahel) with the Pihilim (written *Bi-khi-lim*) of the el-Amârna tablets. Cf. Dhorme, *Revue Biblique*, Jan., 1924, pp. 1 ff. Pella is described by Schumacher, *op. cit.*

[52] Rehob, according to Père Abel, equals Tell es-Sârem, south of Beth-shan. Rehob is mentioned in a cuneiform tablet found at Taanach in Palestine, under the form of Rahab. Cf. Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, p. 115.

[53] Yenoam, according to Père Vincent and Dr. Albright is Tell en-Nâ'ameh, north of Lake Hûleh, but this is uncertain. Yenoam is mentioned in the el-Amârna tablets under the form "Yanuamma". Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, ii, p. 311.

[54] Some account of the contents of this stela was given by Moret, in *Revue de l'Égypte Ancienne*, Nos. 1–2, 1925, pp. 18–30. See also Ranke, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, I, p. 95, *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 1926, p. 72; and Albright, *Annual of the American School of Oriental Research*, VI, pp. 32 ff. Representations of the gods Ra, Amen and Ptah are engraved on a silver trumpet found in the tomb of Tutankhamen, so it is quite likely, as pointed out by Howard Carter (*The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen*, ii, p. 31), that in this instance, they are to be regarded as emblems of the army divisions of Ra, Amen, and Ptah. A bronze military standard with the head of Hathor covered with gold foil was discovered in the level of Amenophis III on the tell; this is illustrated in *The Museum Journal*, December, 1927, p. 430.

## No. VI City-level—Seti I

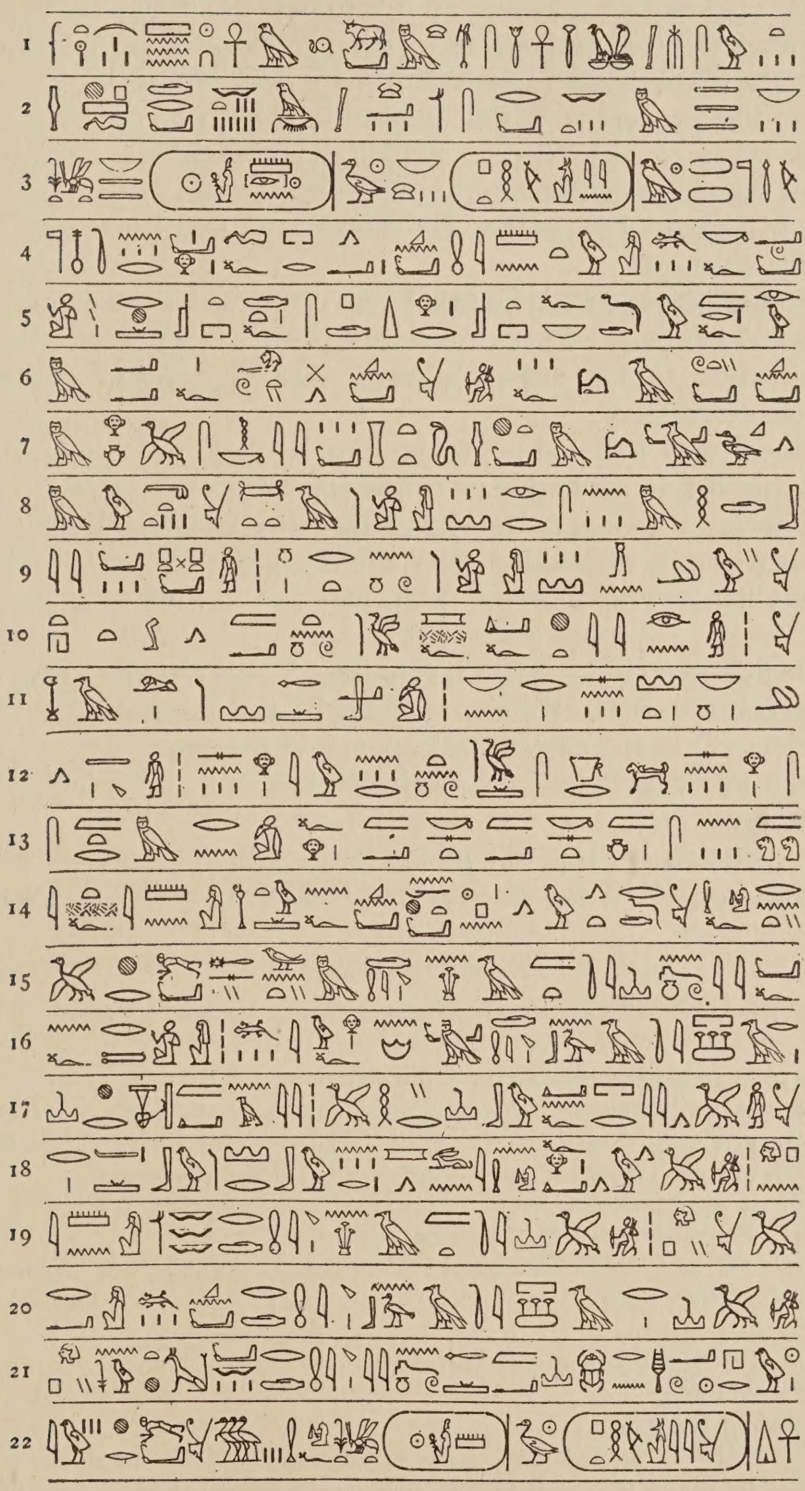
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Fig. 5.—The hieroglyphic text on the Seti I stela dated in the first year of his reign.

4. The good god,[2] valiant with his scimitar, a hero brave like Mentu,[3] of many captures,
5. knowing the place of his hand, keen in all his places, speaking with his mouth, doing
6. with his hands, a leader brave of his soldiers, a fighter brave
7. in the midst of the warriors, a Bastet[4] mighty in the battle, entering
8. into the dense masses of the Asiatics, making them into a holocaust,
9. treading down the chiefs of Retennu,[5] compassing the end of
10. him who has transgressed his path. He causes to retreat [the chiefs of Kharu], and to cease[6] the chiefs of
11. Kharu[7] all the boastings of their mouths! All countries at the end of
12. the earth, their chiefs [say] 'Where are we going to?' They spend the night
13. making testification to his name—[saying] '*mekset, mekset*'[8]—in their hearts by reason of the strength of
14. his father Amen, who hath adjudged to him bravery and victory. On this day came one[9] to speak to his majesty[10] to the effect that[11]
15. the wretched enemy who was in the city of Hamath he had collected
16. to himself many people, was taking away the town of Beth-shan,
17. had made an alliance with those of Pella, and was not allowing to come forth the chief of
18. Rehob outside [his own city]. Then his majesty,[12] sent the first army of
19. Amen ('Powerful Bows')[13] to the city of Hamath, the first army of
20. Ra ('Many Braves') to the city of Beth-shan, and the first
21. army of Sutekh ('Strong Bows') to the city of Yenoam, and it happened that in the space of a day
22. they were overthrown by the will of his majesty,[14] the KING OF THE SOUTH AND NORTH, 'Men-Maat-Ra', SON OF THE SUN, 'Seti-meri-en-Ptah', granted life."

### NOTES ON THE TEXT

[1] The titulary of the kings of Egypt consisted of five "great names" all of which are given on the monument:

i The "Horus" name, as representative of the old falcon-god Horus.
ii The "Two Ladies" name as representative of Nekhebet, the goddess of South Egypt, and Wadjet, the goddess of North Egypt. (The "IX-Bows" are the nine chief foes of the king.)
iii The "Horus of Gold" name, as representative of the golden falcon-god.
iv The "King of the South and North" name, or throne name. Seti's throne name means, literally, "Permanent-of-truth-is-Ra; begotten-of-Ra".
v The "Son of the Sun" name, or personal name. Seti's personal name means, literally, "Seti-beloved-of-Ptah".

[2] An epithet of Seti.

[3] The warrior god of Hermonthis, south of Thebes.

[4] The great goddess of destruction.

[5] A name for Syria and Palestine.

[6] There is some confusion in the text here. The expression *di-f kheti*, "he causes to retreat", is well known elsewhere, *e.g.*, "He causes to retreat Libya" (line 5 of the Israel stela of Merenptah); "He causes the Asiatics to retreat" (line 9 of the Rameses II stela of Beisân—Gardiner, *The Geography of the Exodus*, *J. E. Arch.*, vol. X, part ii, p. 93); etc. The word translated "cease" in our text is a misspelling for *qen;*

cf. *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*, part I, p. 177, *qen ābā*, "to cease boasting". See also the expression, "He causes the chiefs of Kharu to cease (*qen*) all boastings of their mouths", on the relief of Seti I illustrated by Breasted, *Ancient Records*, iii, p. 44. Cf. Brugsch, *Hieroglyphisch-Demotisches Wörterbuch*, iv, p. 1464, line 11 from top.

[7] Apparently a name for Palestine.

[8] The real meaning of these words is uncertain.

[9] *i.e.*, a messenger.

[10] In the original text the determinative of the word "majesty" (*hem*), has no arms and the flail projects from the knees.

[11] On the expression "to the effect that" (*er-enti*), see Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 174, par. 225.

[12] See remarks in note 10 above.

[13] Each army had a special epithet.

[14] See remarks in note 10 above.

The other stela erected by the king on the tell (Pls. 42–44) was found in 1921 in No. II city-level, where it had been reused by the Byzantines as a door-sill. The inscription on this stela is very difficult to read, as the text, which is in twenty horizontal lines, is much weathered, and the extreme left-hand side of the monument is missing. A fragment belonging to the stela was found in 1925 in the upper level of the corridor between the two temples of Rameses II (Pl. 45, No. 1). The names of various Egyptian deities (Amen-Ra, etc.) are given in the first few lines of the text. The words at the end of line 9 and those in line 10 seem to read: "On this day, behold, . . . his majesty, may he live, be prosperous, be healthy! these Apiru of the Mountain of the Jordan(?) [*Yrdn*(?)] and Tyr . . .[55]" See Fig. 6. The Apiru are met with five times in other Egyptian documents, and some would connect them with the Hebrews;[56] their association with the "Mountain of the Jordan(?)", if indeed it is the Jordan that is mentioned, is highly important, for it must mean that we are to localize some of these people in the Gilead range on the east side of the river. An invasion by tribes from the east side of the Jordan is distinctly referred to in the text of the other Seti stela from Beth-shan—see p. 26 above. By analogy with this other text we are doubtless to reconstruct lines 9 and 10 of the present stela text as follows: "On this day, behold, [one (*i.e.*, a messenger) came to inform] his majesty, may he live, be prosperous, be healthy! [that] these Apiru of the Mountain of the Jordan(?) and Tyr . . . [had]" done so and so—probably invaded Canaan. As regards the latter place mentioned in line 10 (Tyr . . .), this, from the form of the first characters in its name remaining on the stela, can hardly be Tyrqel, a city already known in the Anastasi Papyrus of the time of Rameses II (cf. footnote 62 below), where it is associated with Beth-shan and the Jordan: "Explain Beth-shan and Tyrqel. The stream of the Jordan, how is it crossed?" Line 16 of the stela seems to refer to "lists of the Rethenu people"; line 17 refers to "day II" (the events previously mentioned on the monument probably happened on "day I" of a certain season); while certain "living prisoners" are mentioned at the end of line 18. On the upper portion of the stela are the lower parts of at least two figures, that on the right being the king and that on the left a god, doubtless Amen-Ra. Between them is an altar stand. If we may rely on the photographic evidence, the top of this stela is perhaps none other than the part of the stela of Seti I found at Tell esh-Shihâb in Transjordan,—cf. Vincent, *Canaan d' après l'exploration récente*, p. 452, fig. 304. Should evidence ever be forthcoming that the Hebrews are really the Apiru, or at least a branch of this race, we would then surely appear to have in the undated Seti stela a reference to the Hebrews trying to conquer Beth-shan. This town was alotted to the tribe of Manasseh who, according to *Joshua*, xvii, 11–12 and *Judges*, i, 27, could not drive out its inhabitants, or, in other words capture it.

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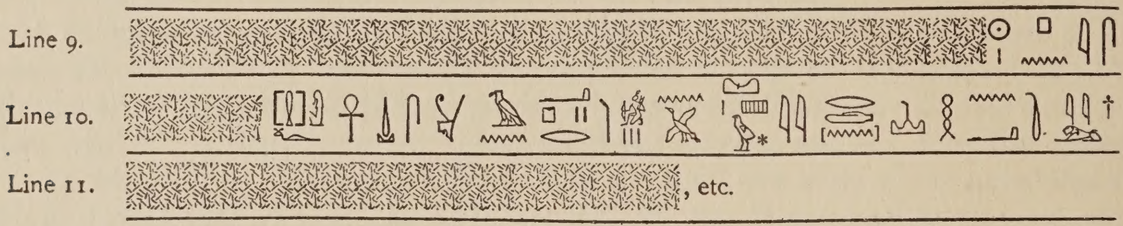
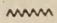
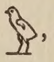
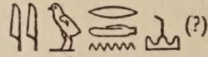
[55] Some have thought that this word of which only "Tyr . . . " appears on the stela (the last part of the word was in the next line, No. 11) is to be read "Tuirsha" (cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, iii, 574, 579, 588, 601; iv, 129; also Macalister, *The Philistines, their History and Civilization*, pp. 20–24), but this restoration is highly doubtful. Unfortunately the signs in line 11 are almost unreadable.

[56] Cf. Peet, *Egypt and the Old Testament*, pp. 123–125; Burney, *op. cit.*, pp. 62–63; and Maspero, *Les Âperiou sont-ils les Hébreux?* in *Études de Mythologie et d'Archeologie*, iii, pp. 131–134.



* This sign may be  ; but if it is , the character is merely transposed = 

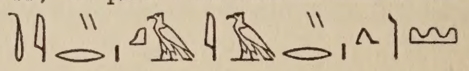
† The end of this word was at the commencement of line 11; the part of the stela on which it was written is unfortunately missing. The word can hardly be the  of the Anastasi Papyrus.

FIG. 6.—Lines 9, 10, and 11 of the hieroglyphic text on the undated stela of Seti I shown in Pls. 42, 43, 44.

No. VI city-level seems in fact to consist of two distinct levels, which, for the time being, we have called Early Seti (Pl. 25, No. 1) and Late Seti (Pl. 25, No. 2), respectively. As the temple itself was undisturbed by the addition of the second stratum of houses outside it, it is just possible that it may have continued in use throughout the period represented by both the earlier and later strata, but this is quite uncertain. Of these two, the one we have called Late Seti may really belong to the early part of the reign of Rameses II, for the following reasons. A large stela of Rameses II found at Beth-shan in 1923 is dated in the *ninth* year of the reign of this king, which may very well be the date when the great citadel comprising No. V city-level was built by him, for we see from other sources that he was obliged the *previous year* to reconquer the cities of Galilee, including a Hittite outpost at Dapur in North Syria, the Hauran, and the region east of the Sea of Galilee where he left a stela recording his victory.[57] Therefore, perhaps the so-called Late Seti level actually represents a small stratum of houses erected on the destroyed fort of Seti I by the rebels a little *prior* to the advent of Rameses II in year eight. Of course, on the other hand, the fort might have been destroyed towards the close of the former king's reign, and the new houses built at this time. Further excavations may solve this difficult question. In the Late Seti level in 1926 we found in a room just to the north of the Seti temple, a part of a door-jamb(?) inscribed in hieroglyphs as follows: "Praises be to thee, O beautiful one (*i.e.*, the sun god), who possesseth everlastingness . . . thou didst fashion the Nile. . . ." (Pl. 45, No. 2). An adjoining small fragment of a door-jamb bore the words . . . *em khet nebt* . . . *i.e.*, "for everybody" (or similar).

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[57] Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, p. 436.

## No. V City-level—Rameses II

This level (Pl. 28) as we have just seen, appears to have been made by Rameses II (1292–1225 B. C.) in the ninth year of his reign. It comprised a strong citadel with two temples in it, the southern one of which was placed over the ruins of the older Seti I temple. But whereas the axes of the temples of Thothmes III, Amenophis III, and Seti I were from south to north, the axes of the two temples of Rameses II were from west to east. The outer double fortification wall and the main gateway with two towers on each side of it were found at the western part of the fort and are fully described in *The Museum Journal*, March, 1929.

The southern temple (Pls. 28, No. 3; 29, Nos. 1, 2), which was divided from the northern one (Pls. 28, No. 4; 29, Nos. 3, 4) by a long corridor, seems to have been made by an Egyptian called Rameses-wesr-khepesh,[58] an "[overseer] of soldiers, commander of the bowmen of the Lord of the Two Lands (*i.e.*, Pharaoh), royal scribe, and great steward". He was the son of Thothmes, a "fan-bearer at the right hand of the king, chief of the bowmen, and overseer of foreign countries (or, of foreigners)". These facts we gather partly from an inscription on a broken lintel unearthed near the temple entrance (Pl. 48, No. 1), and partly from another lintel unearthed to the east of the temple (Pl. 47, Nos. 1, 2). On the latter lintel is the kneeling figure of Rameses-wesr-khepesh himself, with both arms raised in adoration. From details on a similar lintel (No. 1890) in the Pelizæus-Museum, Hildesheim, Germany, which lintel has a cornice similar to that of the lintel shown in Pl. 50, Nos. 3, 4, it seems almost certain that Rameses-wesr-khepesh was originally represented in adoration before the seated figure of Rameses II. The Hildesheim lintel shows two figures of a son of Rameses II, named Rameses-meri-Set (or -Sutekh), a "fan-bearer at the right hand of the king", kneeling in adoration, in one instance, before Rameses II wearing the red crown of Lower Egypt, and in the other instance, before Rameses II, wearing the joint red and white crown of Lower and Upper Egypt. The king is seated in a canopy. The prince is dressed in exactly the same way as the kneeling figure on the Beth-shan lintel. A rough copy of the photograph of the Hildesheim monument, which came from Horbeit, in the Delta, was kindly supplied me by Dr. G. Roeder and is published here by his permission (Fig. 7). A figure of the god Resheph was found on a beautiful serpentine cylinder seal which bears the cartouche of

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[58] Cf. a somewhat similarly named official, Rameses-wesr-her-khepesh, who lived in the time of Rameses II, mentioned on a seal published by Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, Pl. XLIII, No. 152. It is interesting to note that one of the sons of Rameses II was called Thothmes, but he can hardly be the Thothmes referred to in the Beth-shan inscription. Rameses-wesr-khepesh was, however, like his father, probably a member of the royal family. One of the sons of Rameses II seems to have borne the name Rameses-wesr-khepesh. See Mariette, *Abydos*, I, Pl. 4, 22, where we read: "Royal son, . . . -wesr-khepesh" (the first part of the name is missing, but doubtless we are to supply "Rameses-").

Rameses II, discovered in the lowest level of the southern temple on the tell (Pl. 34, No. 4). The seal shows the figure of Rameses II, who wears the battle helmet, shooting arrows at his local foes, two of whom are tied up below a Canaanite fort-standard, doubtless that of Beth-shan. The standard consists of a target on a pole with three arrows piercing it and is similar to the Hittite fort standard of Dapur in North Syria; see Maspero, *The Struggle of the Nations*, p. 128. Behind the king is a vulture. On the other side of the standard is the figure of Resheph, who holds a scimitar in his left hand and the *ankh* sign of "life" in his right hand. The god wears a conical helmet with two streamers and the head of a gazelle attached to it. Emblems of swamps and marshes, perhaps those of Beth-shan, are also present. On account of its swamps the city was later regarded as the ideal birthplace of the moisture-loving Dionysos and Nysa; cf. Abel, *Revue Biblique*, 1912, pp. 413–414. Near the seal was a little bronze statuette of a bearded god, who wears a conical crown and holds a spear (or sceptre(?) ) with a bifurcated butt. A spear-butt shaped like this and belonging to one of the Mediterranean mercenaries was found in an anthropoid burial in the northern cemetery (cf. footnote 67 below), and also another on the tell, in city-level No. VII (see Pl. 39, No. 3). Everything points to the fact that the southern temple was erected in honour of a Baal, doubtless Resheph, who, as we have already seen, was but a form of Mekal, the ancient god of the city.

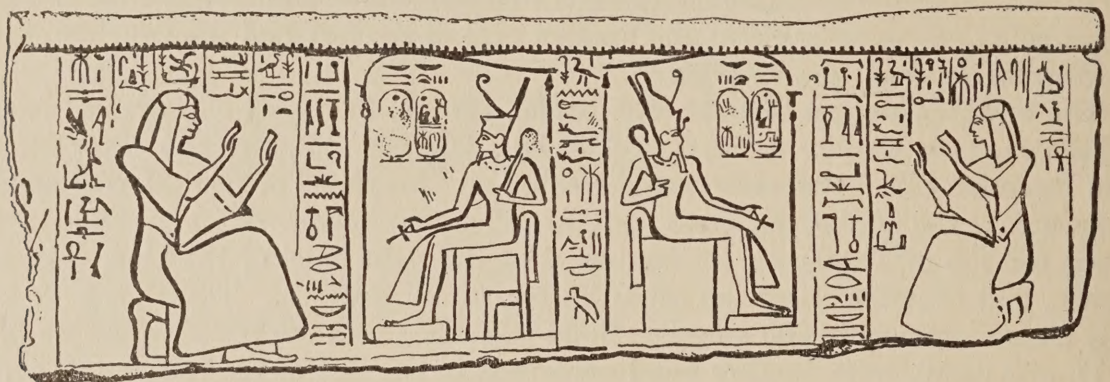

FIG. 7.—Rough sketch of a lintel in the Pelizæus-Museum, Hildesheim (hieroglyphs incorrect). Cf. Pls. 47, Nos. 1, 2; 48, No. 1; and 50, Nos. 3, 4.

The northern temple was certainly dedicated to a Baalath, for in it we came across an Egyptian stela of a private person showing the figure of the Canaanite warrior goddess Antit (Pl. 50, No. 2). The goddess is represented on the left-hand side of the monument and is dressed as Ashtoreth with whom she is therefore to be identified. She wears on her head a plumed crown and holds in her left hand the *was* sceptre of "happiness" and in her right hand the *ankh* sign of "life". Antit is elsewhere invariably represented as seated on a throne and holding weapons; cf. *Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum*, pl. XL, opp. p. 249. The usual form of Ashtoreth is shown by Max Müller, *Egyptian Mythology*, p. 156, fig. 161, where she is figured in exactly the same way as Antit on the Beth-shan stela. Before the crown of the goddess on the Beth-shan stela are two lines of text which read, "Antit, the queen of heaven (cf. *Jeremiah*, xliv, 19), the mistress of all the gods." Opposite to the goddess stands a man whose name appears to be "Hesi-Nekht(?)", or perhaps, "the Singer, Nekht(?)". His two hands are raised in adoration to the goddess. Between the two figures is an offering stand with a libation pot and a lotus on it. The three lines of text above the man commence with the usual formula *hetep-di-nesw*, and read: "An offering-which-the-king-gives to Antit, that she may give all life, prosperity and health to the double of Hesi-Nehkt(?)." The base of the stela is missing.

Both temples in the level continued in use until at least the time of the Philistines and are evidently referred to in the Old Testament. An interesting parallel to these temples is to be found at Baalbek in Syria where in Roman times there were two temples side by side, one belonging to the Baal of the place, called Jupiter-Heliopolitanus, and the other to his consort, Astarte-Atargatis.[59] Various cult objects found in the above mentioned Beth-shan temples and various graves found in the great northern cemetery, all showing Ægean-Anatolian influence, bear witness to the fact that, as in the previous reigns, there were Mediterranean mercenaries in the citadel in the time of Rameses II. These mercenaries, who were commanded by Egyptian officers, were employed in Beth-shan until the death of Rameses III.

The stela dated in the ninth year of his reign which Rameses II set up in his fort was placed in a room to the west of the northern temple and is inscribed with texts which are mainly laudatory in character (Pl. 46). Across the top of the monument, which is vaulted, are the solar disk, wings and uræi of Horus of Behudet, who is called "Behudet, the great god". Underneath are two figures, that on the left representing the god Amen-Ra, who wears the crown with double plumes and holds a scimitar in his right hand and the *was* sceptre in his left hand. In front of him is written: "Words spoken by Amen-Ra, the lord of heaven: 'I have given to thee victory,' " etc., while in the two perpendicular lines of text behind him are set out the various benefits the god has bestowed upon the king: "I have given to thee all boundaries which thou hast wished for to the limits of the pillars of heaven. . . . Thou art as Horus upon earth." Facing the god, and on the right side of the stela, is the other figure, which represents king Rameses II himself. He holds a bow in his left hand, his other hand being raised in adoration to the god. On his head is the battle helmet with uræus and plume attached. The hieroglyphs above contain the throne name and personal name of the king: "THE GOOD GOD 'Wesṛ-Maat-Ra, setep-en-Ra'; SON OF THE SUN 'Rameses-meri-Amen'. Is granted life and joyfulness to him forever like Ra." Between the god and the king are representations of various Canaanite vessels which the king has captured as booty and which he is offering to Amen-Ra. In cartouche-like enclosures at the bottom of the stela are written the names of the chief foes of Rameses, each enclosure having the figure of a manacled captive above it. The names are very much erased, but among them may be read the "Bowmen of the desert"; the "Aamu"; the "Shasu(?)"; and the "Lords of the North". The last mentioned are Mediterraneans. The small perpendicular line of text separating the enclosures into two parts reads: "All lands and all foreign countries are under [thy] feet." It has frequently been stated in the newspapers and elsewhere that this monument refers to the *building* of the city of "Raamses" of *Exodus*, i, 11, but this is not so. The text contains no mention whatever of any such building operations, nor of the Israelites, although it certainly does contain a reference to the famous Delta town of Raamses (Per-Ramessu). The line in which this reference occurs merely states that the king "causes the Aamu (Asiatics) to retreat, making to be at peace the fighting which had occurred among everyone; those who desire, they come to him all bowing down at his Castle of Life and Prosperity, 'Per-Ra-messu-meri-Amen, Great-of-Victories.' "[60]

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[59] It was formerly thought that the latter temple was made for Bacchus, but recent researches (cf. M. H. Thiersch, *Zu den Tempeln . . von Baalbek*, 1925, and *Revue Biblique*, 1926, p. 461) have shown that it was dedicated to the goddess of Syria. It is not out of place to note here that both Antit and Baal are mentioned on a stela found a kilometre to the south of the Wâdî Mourr, west of the southern end of the Suez Canal. This stela, which is of the time of Rameses II, also mentions the god Sepd.–J. Clédat, *Notes sur l' Isthme de Suez, Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, xvi, pp. 207–208.

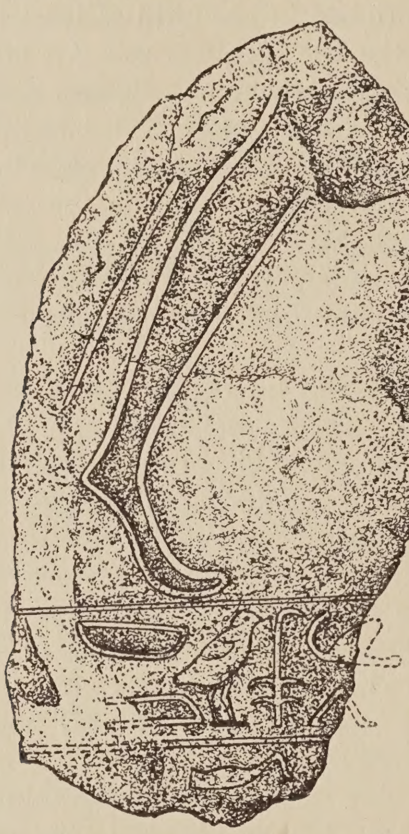

FIG. 8.—Fragment of a royal Egyptian stela found in No. V city-level.

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[60] Cf. Alan H. Gardiner, *The Geography of the Exodus*, *J.E.Arch.*, x, part II, 1924, p. 93. Interesting poems on Per-Ramessu are quoted by A. Erman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, London, 1927, pp. 270–273: "His majesty builded him a castle called Great-of-Victories. It lieth between Palestine and Egypt, and is full of provisions and victuals. It is like unto Hermonthis, and its duration is that of Memphis. The sun ariseth in its horizon, and setteth within it. All men forsake their towns and settle down in its territory. Its western part is a temple of Amen, its southern part a temple of Sutekh (Set). Astarte is in its Orient, and Buto in its northern part. The castle within it is like the horizon of heaven . . . [The city] with beauteous balconies and dazzling halls of lapis lazuli and turquoise, the place where thy chariotry is marshalled, the place where thine infantry is mustered, the place where thy ship's troops come to port, when they bring thee tribute." See also pp. 206–207, *op. cit.*, for a letter in praise of Per-Ramessu.

The following is a provisional translation of most of the horizontal lines of text on the monument. A full translation will appear elsewhere as soon as the weathered portions have been deciphered.

1. "Year IX, month IV of summer, day I. Live the HORUS[1] 'Strong-bull-beloved-of-Maat'; TWO LADIES 'Protector-of-Egypt-conqueror-of-foreign-countries'; HORUS OF GOLD 'Rich-in-years-
2. great-of-victories'; KING OF THE SOUTH AND NORTH, SEIZER OF ALL LANDS 'Wesr-Maat-Ra, setep-en-Ra';[2] SON OF THE SUN, OF HIS BODY, HIS BELOVED, LORD OF APPEARANCES 'Ra-meses-meri-Amen',[3] beloved of Amen-Ra the king of the gods.
6. . . . the chiefs of Rethennu[4] come making obeisance
7. . . . His will is powerful before all lands; his frightfulness cleaves their hearts when [he] enters in alone
8. in the dense masses of the enemy. [Their] warriors are made they into a holocaust. Speaking with his mouth, doing with his hands. At daybreak. . . .
9. he caused to retreat the Aamu, making to be at peace the fighting which had occurred among everyone; those who desire they come to him all bowing down
10. at his Castle of Life and Prosperity, 'Per[5]-Ra-messu-meri-Amen, Great-of-Victories'. KING OF THE SOUTH AND NORTH 'Wesr-Maat-Ra, setep-en-Ra'; SON OF THE SUN 'Ra-messes-meri-Amen', great of victories
11. before all foreign countries like his father Set,[6] great of strength . . . widening his boundaries
12. as much as he likes. . . . All foreign countries are raging, and are made non-existent.
13. He enters [the fray] alone without another with him[7] . . . never has existed his like in any land.
14. . . . Succouring the feeble and the husband
15. of the widow (*i.e.*, a man who takes care of a widow), protecting the poor, responding to the speech of the afflicted, a brave shepherd in sustaining mankind,
16. a solid wall to Egypt, a buckler to millions, and a protector of multitudes. He rescues Egypt . . . the Aamu
17. to crush them. He causes all lands to be under his feet. KING OF THE SOUTH AND NORTH 'Wesr-Maat-Ra, setep-en-Ra'; SON OF THE SUN 'Ra-meses-meri-Amen'. Seizing his bow[8] on
18. [his] horse, he graspeth his arrows. He is like a circling star among multitudes in the strength of [his] arm. Seizing the rebels
19. of the ends of the earth, he overthroweth their chiefs together with their soldiers. Is his majesty in their sight like the Bull of Nubti[9] (*i.e.*, Set);
20. like a hawk in the midst of the sky to the birds; like a fierce lion in a pen of goats;[10] like a fire
21. when it seizeth shrubs . . . Are they (*i.e.*, the foes) like
22. bird-feathers before the wind. Never hath been done what he hath done in any foreign country. KING OF THE SOUTH AND NORTH, THE IMAGE OF AMEN . . . 'Wesr-Maat-Ra, setep-en-Ra',

23. SON OF THE SUN 'Ra-meses-meri-Amen'. Hath made for him his scimitar an everlasting name before all foreign countries. Never spoke with boastings the SON OF THE SUN 'Ra-meses-meri-Amen'.
24. [He] is an excellent place of refuge for his soldiers . . . KING OF THE SOUTH AND NORTH 'Wesr-Maat-Ra, setep-en-Ra', SON OF THE SUN, HIS BELOVED, LORD OF APPEARANCES 'Ra-meses-meri-Amen', granted life."

### NOTES ON THE TEXT

[1] On the royal titulary see the first note on the text of the Seti I stela, p. 28.

[2] Literally, "Powerful-of-truth-is-Ra; chosen-of-Ra."

[3] Literally, "Ra-has-given-birth; beloved-of-Amen."

[4] The same as Retennu. See note 5 on the Seti stela text, p. 28.

[5] *Per* is "House".

[6] *i.e.*, the god Set. "Great of strength" is a title of Set.

[7] This must surely refer to the episode at Kadesh on the River Orontes when Rameses tackled the enemy himself, his soldiers having temporarily deserted him. This was in 1288 B. C.

[8] Compare the bow held by the king as shown on the top of the stela.

[9] Nubti is the town of Ombos.

[10] Cf. *Jeremiah*, xlix, 19: "Like a lion coming up from the jungle of Jordan against the peaceful sheepfold, so will I chase them in a moment from their place."—*The Old Testament, an American Translation*, ed., by Prof. J. M. Powis Smith.

In the 1925 season, in the Rameses II level, we discovered two stela-bases side by side (Pl. 45, No. 3). The monuments which once stood on them had evidently been removed by the builders of the large reservoir of the Hellenistic temple, who had sunk its foundations through the rooms of the Egyptian levels (cf. Fig. 9). Upon one of these bases doubtless stood the broken stela of Seti I (brought up from city-level No. VI by Rameses II) which was discovered in the ruins of the Byzantine level (see Pl. 42). What stela stood upon the adjoining base we do not know, but perhaps there belonged to it the two fragments of another royal stela of basalt one of which was found in the Rameses II level in 1923. This particular fragment (Fig. 8) is from the upper part of the monument and shows the leg of a king with the usual tail of an animal suspended behind him. Below are parts of the first two lines of a horizontal hieroglyphic text reading from right to left. The words visible in line 1 read: ". . . all who attack him in . . ." (*peh-su nub em*), and in line 2: ". . . scimitar . . ." (*khepesh*). The other fragment was discovered in 1925 in the foundations of a Byzantine reservoir which had been sunk into the northwestern corner of the northern temple of Rameses II, and bears the signs *m*, *m* (Pl. 49, No. 2). Altogether, therefore, we know of four *royal* stelæ at Beth-shan—two of Seti I (Pls. 41–44), one of Rameses II (Pl. 46) and one, of which only two fragments remain, of an unknown Pharaoh. A part of a royal statue (Pl. 50, No. 1) was discovered in 1925 in the northern temple of Rameses II; and previously, in 1923, a statue of Rameses III (Pl. 51) had been found just outside its western wall. The former statue represents a king(?) of Egypt holding a staff in each hand, and reminds one very much of a statue of king Merenptah in the Cairo Museum and also of one of Kha-em-

Wast, son of Rameses II, in the British Museum; the statue of Rameses III is described on p. 38 of this book. A complete list of the Egyptian royal stelæ and monuments of the New Empire found in Palestine and Syria is given by Albright and Rowe, *A Royal Stele of the New Empire from Galilee*, in *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, November, 1928, pp. 286, 287.

We found also in 1925 near the west end of the southern temple of Rameses II, an Egyptian stela bearing the name of a certain [Amen-em-]Apt[61] (Pl. 49, No. 1). The name of this man recalls that of the *maher*, or trained scribe, Amen-em-Apt, mentioned in the Anastasi Papyrus of the time of Rameses II, who is questioned about Beth-shan and various places by Hori, another scribe. Amen-em-Apt is bantered by Hori, who addresses him as follows: "O scribe, keen of wit, understanding of heart, to whom nothing whatsoever is unknown, . . . thou art sent on an expedition to Phœnicia(?) at the head of the victorious army, in order to smite those rebels who are called Neârîn. . . . I will tell thee of . . . [a] mysterious city. Byblos is its name; what is it like? . . . Come teach me about Beirut, and about Sidon and Sarepta. . . . Pray teach me concerning the appearance(?) of Qyna; acquaint me with Rehob; explain Beth-shan and Tyrqel. The stream of the Jordan, how is it crossed? Cause me to know the way of crossing over to Megiddo."[62] Qyna must have been adjacent to the "brook Qyna", near Megiddo, mentioned in the annals of Thothmes III. Rehob, as we have already seen (cf. footnote 52), is to the south of Beth-shan. Tyrqel is as yet unidentified, but its site is doubtless somewhere to the east of Beth-shan. The order of the names supports this view, for it will be noticed that the scribe has named Qyna, Rehob, Beth-shan and the Jordan almost as they lie from west to east, and has placed Tyrqel *after* Beth-shan and *before* the Jordan.

The stela with the name Amen-em-Apt originally had an upper register, which has not yet been found. The lower register contained thirteen lines of perpendicular text, one of which is missing; many of the other lines are partly broken away or defaced. The inscription reads from left to right. In the middle of the stone is represented the figure of the person for whom the monument was made, his arms raised in adoration to the gods, some of whose figures were doubtless engraved on the upper part. The name "[Amen-em-]Apt" occurs at the end of the last line, and as the portion of the stela *between* this name and certain titles above (*i.e.*, "overseer of the two granaries of the Lord of the Two Lands, steward . . .") is unfortunately missing, it is impossible to say whether the stela was actually made for Amen-em-Apt himself or for his son. In other words, we cannot say whether line 13 reads ". . . overseer of the two granaries of the Lord of the Two Lands, steward . . . [X son of] . . .[63] Amen-em-Apt", or ". . . overseer of the two granaries of the Lord of the Two Lands, steward . . . Amen-em-Apt". The inscription commences with the usual formula, *hetep-di-nesw*, and reads: "An offering-which-the-king-gives [to] Ra-Harmachis, Atem, Horus, Kheperi, Thoth lord of the words of the god, Shu, Tefnut, the lords of the other world(?), and Osiris, at the head of the west, the great god, the ruler of eternity, that they may give life, prosperity, health, keen vision, honour, and love, a sound mouth, the footstep in its place, until the reaching of a venerated state in peace, the end thereof being a good funeral, and burial in the cemetery of my town. May my soul go out to the place which it desires, without being imprisoned. May I see Ra in the Lands of Bakhau (Mountains of Sunrise), while the gods adore him. May I cross over [heaven(?)], . . . [may I go in and out(?)], may I not be driven back from any door . . . may I join the god[s(?)] . . . together with the crew(?). . . . For the double of the overseer of the two granaries of the Lord of the Two Lands, steward . . . [Amen-em-]Apt, true of word."

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[61] Only the word "Apt" is visible, but as every Egyptologist knows, we can hardly restore any words other than "Amen-em-".

[62] Alan H. Gardiner. *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, Part I, pp. 19–24 (on the date of the composition see p. 4, *op. cit.*); *Cambridge Ancient History*, ii, pp. 326–327.

[63] Some titles are missing before the name "Amen-em-Apt".

From the débris of the Hellenistic reservoir in the eastern end of the southern temple of Rameses II came a limestone lintel badly broken and decayed, with a cornice on its top (Pl. 50, Nos. 3, 4). The cornice is like that of the lintel shown in Fig. 7. Only the tops of six lines of Egyptian hieroglyphs (reading from right to left) and the heads of three persons (facing to the left) are to be seen on it. The words visible are: line (1) *sesh*, "scribe"; (2) *en nebt per*, "of the lady of the house"; (3) *en Amen*, "of Amen"; (4) *en ka en*, "for the double of"; (5) *en*, "for"; and (6) *en Amen*, "of Amen". These words are mostly parts of titles of persons.

## NO. IV CITY-LEVEL—LATE RAMESSIDE, PHILISTINE, ISRAELITE, ASSYRIAN, SCYTHIAN, NEW BABYLONIAN, OLD PERSIAN, ETC.

During the early part of the period represented by city-level No. IV, that is to say, from the death of Rameses II in 1225 B. C. until the reign of Rameses III of the XXth Dynasty, who came to the throne in 1198 B. C., the Egyptians were doubtless in complete control of Beth-shan. Five years after the latter date, peoples of Ægean and Anatolian origin, comprising the Philistines and their allies, attacked Egypt but were repulsed by Rameses III. A few years later they overran Syria and Palestine and were again defeated by the king, probably this time in Galilee. This was in 1187 B. C.,[64] which must be the date on which the soldiers of Rameses III came to Beth-shan and erected the statue of their royal master already referred to above (Pl. 51). The statue, which is about life size, represents the king seated on a throne with both hands on his lap. He wears a wig with the uræus, is dressed in a short tunic and has sandals on his feet. There is a collar around his neck. On the left shoulder in a cartouche is the throne-name of the king, "Powerful-of-truth-is-Ra; beloved-of-Amen", preceded by the words "Lord of the Two Lands", while on the right shoulder is a cartouche containing the king's personal name, "Rameses-ruler-of-Heliopolis", preceded by his other title, "Lord of Appearances".

After the death of Rameses III in 1167 B. C., the Mediterranean mercenary troops, who seem to have been employed in Beth-shan ever since the time of Amenophis III, or even Thothmes III, perhaps took possession of the citadel for themselves,[65] and later

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[64] Cf. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, iv, pp. 78–79, as to the date of this campaign which is thought to have occurred in the eleventh year of the king's reign.

[65] This is the view of Père Vincent and it is well borne out by our evidence.

(about 1080 B. C.[66]) amalgamated with the incoming Philistines and others against whom they had formerly fought. As we have already seen in Part I, the "slipper" type of anthropoid sarcophagi of certain of these mercenaries has been found in the great northern cemetery (Pls. 37–40). Some examples were unearthed in 1922 and others in 1926. They are all very similar to sarcophagi discovered in Egypt at Tell el-Yahûdîyeh, at Tell Nebesheh near Lake Menzaleh, at Saft el-Henneh to the east of Zagazig in the Delta, at Suwa to the south of the latter town, and at el-Gerzeh north of Meydum. The Egyptian examples, according to their discoverers, date from the XVIIIth to the XXVIth Dynasty (c. 600 B. C.), the earliest being of the time of Thothmes III (1501–1447 B. C.); and nearly all, like ours, have Mediterranean (including Ægean and Cypriote) pottery and other objects associated with them.[67]

In contrast to the roughly round shape of the Middle-Canaanite tombs, the tombs of the mercenaries at Beth-shan are roughly rectangular. One such tomb found in 1926 consists of a large underground hall with a low entrance at the bottom of a perpendicular shaft. The hall has a rectangular recess for a sarcophagus to the north, east and west; the recesses on the east and west are raised a step above the floor level of the hall. In this particular tomb at least three sarcophagi were found, one belonging to a woman. Practically no jewellery was discovered with them, and we must draw attention to the fact that in the tomb there was a flat-bottomed jar having ledge-handles, the clay of which had been folded over in three flaps while still wet so as to make a semicircular handle. Jars of this type have been found on so many other occasions in close connection with the anthropoid burials that it seems almost impossible to reject the conclusion that they are contemporary with them. Such jars however are usually regarded as belonging to the earliest Bronze Age.

All the sarcophagi in these tombs are cylindrical in shape and taper down towards the base, their maximum diameter being about where the shoulders of the corpse would be when placed in them. They all have movable lids upon which are modelled in high relief the features of the deceased with crossed arms and hands. The lid is really equivalent to the "face" of the coffin, and thus does not extend down to its base, the consequence being that when the lid is removed the sarcophagus looks something like a huge slipper.[68] Some of the sarcophagi had a small hole in the base; other examples had a series of small holes in the back, perhaps for the drainage of the effluxes of the corpse. Among the things that were unearthed with the anthropoid sarcophagi during the 1926 season may be mentioned Bügelkannen or "stirrup-vases", lentoid flasks, and other Mediterranean pottery. A most interesting object was a gold foil mouthplate, lozenge-shaped, with a hole at each end, which was originally tied over the mouth of the corpse before it was laid in the sarcophagus (Pl. 39, No. 2). Similar mouthplates have been found in Cyprus and in various countries directly affected by the Ægean civilization. Other associated objects are Canaanite pottery lamps, some with spouts for four wicks; spindle whorls; small faience bead-spreaders bearing figures of Egyptian deities; part of a beautifully made carnelian figure of the god Bes; pendants and beads of carnelian, steatite and onyx; spearheads and coiled bangles of bronze; earrings of bronze, silver and gold; plain finger rings of bronze and silver; scarabs, some mounted in gold, ranging in date from the Hyksos period to the time of Rameses II (one bears the name of Thothmes III); and a bronze ring with a scaraboid attached to it. Certain of the burials even had Egyptian *ushebti* figures (*i.e.*, models of field workers for helping the deceased in the other world) with them, which fact, although very interesting, is not surprising when we consider that the religion of the mercenaries must have been strongly influenced by that of their Egyptian officers. As a matter of fact, the presence of the sacred amulets and figurines of Egypt shows that whatever deities of their own the mercenaries may have worshipped, they probably also revered some of the gods of the Pharaohs. Further, it was quite an easy matter for them to identify with Hathor or Isis of Egypt (and incidentally with Ashtoreth of Palestine) their own great Mother Goddess who was universally worshipped over the whole of the regions of the Ægean and the northern parts of the eastern Mediterranean.

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[66] Cf. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

[67] Cf. Naville, *The Mound of the Jew and the City of Onias*, etc., VIIth Memoir of Egypt Ex. Fund, Pls. 12, 13, 14; Petrie, *Tanis*, ii, IVth Memoir of E.E.F., Pl. I (the second spear-butt from the left on the top of Pl. III is exactly like a bronze spear-butt found in one of our anthropoid burials; see also *Tools and Weapons*, p. 33 and Pl. XL); *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt*, pp. 68–69; *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, pp. 16–18, 37, 42, 43, 47, 48, and Pls. XII, XIV, XV and XIX; and *Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh*, p. 27. A representation of one of the Beth-shan sarcophagi was first published as a sketch in *Revue Biblique*, July, 1923, p. 436; see also Pl. 37 of the present work. With regard to the above mentioned spear-butts, compare the reference to the butts in the description of city-level No. V.

[68] At the base of some of the sarcophagi found during 1926 the feet of the body have even been represented, but this feature is very rare.

About the year 1020 B. C., the Philistines in Beth-shan defeated the Israelites upon Mount Gilboa (Pl. 3, No. 2), to the southwest of that place, and exhibited the body of Saul of Israel in the fortress. We learn this much from the accounts in I *Chronicles*, x, 10 ("And they put his armour in the house of their gods, and fastened his head in the temple of Dagon"), and I *Samuel*, xxxi, 10 ("And they put his armour in the house of Ashtaroth; and they fastened his body to the wall of Beth-shan"). We thus see that as in the time of Rameses II, the adoration of a Baal and of a Baalath was still carried on at Beth-shan, the former evidently in the old southern temple of Resheph and the latter evidently in the old northern temple of Antit as in days gone by. Our evidence indicates that both temples were in use from the time of Rameses II to at least the time of the Israelites. Dagon was not altogether an unsuitable successor to Resheph, the lightning-god, for in his old Euphratean form of Dagan he was, according to Dr. Albright (*Gilgames and Engidu*, etc., *J.A.O.S.*, vol. 40, part V, 1920, p. 319), originally a weather god. There is really no inconsistency in the fact that what must be the same building is termed "house of their gods" in *Chronicles* and "house of Ashtaroth" in *Samuel*, for it must be remembered that "Ashtaroth" is merely the plural form of "Ashtoreth". The Revised Version gives the passage in *Samuel* more properly as "they put his armour in the house of *the* Ashtaroth.[69] In any case, the passage in *Chronicles*, which is a later book than *Samuel*, probably preserves a tradition that there were two temples at Beth-shan during the Philistine period, a tradition which is confirmed by our excavations.[70] After they had been hung up for some little time, the body of Saul and the bodies of his three sons were taken by stealth from Beth-shan and buried at Jabesh-Gilead, a place situated a little distance to the southeast of Beth-shan, on the east side of the River Jordan.[71]

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[69] Cf. also "the Baalim (Baals) and the Ashtaroth (Ashtoreths)", once worshipped by the Israelites, mentioned in I *Samuel*, vii, 4 (R. V.). It is of course possible that in the passage in *Samuel* we are to regard "Ashtaroth" in a singular sense. A Semitic "priest of Ashtoreth" and "priest of Baal" is known from the Egyptian texts; his name appears to be Sarbi-Sarbina (var. Rebi-Rebina) surnamed Abi (Ibi). Cf. Lefebure, *Histoire des Grands Prêtres d'Amon*, pp. 111, 112.

The reason for the kindly interest shown by the people of Jabesh-Gilead in the disposal of the body of Saul is explained by a reference to I *Samuel*, xi, 1–11, where we read that Saul a little time previously had delivered their town from Nahash, king of Ammon, a district a little to the south of the region in which Jabesh-Gilead lay. The name of the Ammonite king (Nahash = Nakhash) is curiously enough the same as the word for "serpent" (cf. Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, iii, p. 472, and the remarks on *nakhash*, *shakhan*, etc., in footnote 5 above). It is perhaps not out of place here to recall the fact that in I *Kings*, i, 9 (see *The Old Testament, an American Translation*, edited by Prof. J. M. Powis Smith, p. 542, and Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, extra vol., p. 616), is a mention of a sacred serpent-stone which existed in the time of king David at En-rogel, near Jerusalem: "Now Adonijah sacrificed sheep and oxen and fat cattle by the Serpent's Stone (*'eben haz-zōḥeleth*), which is beside En-rogel." References to this serpent-stone are made by W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 3rd ed., p. 172 and footnote 3; J. Benzinger, *Herbräische Archäologie*, 2nd ed., p. 328, and the same writer, *Die Bücher der Könige*, in *Kurzer Hand-commentar zum Alten Testament*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 4; R. Kittel, *Die Bücher der Könige*, in *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*, Göttingen, 1900, p. 5; and G. Dalman, *Die Schalensteine Palästinas*, in *Palästina-Jahrbuch, 1908*, p. 30. A stone showing the lower part of a deity in human form, with a serpent coiled round the legs, was found in 1928 at Tell Beit Mirsim in Palestine by Dr. W. F. Albright of the American School of Oriental Research. This most interesting monument, which is in the Palestine Museum (photograph in *Revue Biblique*, Jan., 1929, Pl. III), is of limestone and dates to a period between the seventeenth and fifteenth centuries B. C.; it is about 41 centimetres high. Pottery jugs bearing representations of serpents in relief have also been found at Bethshemesh in Palestine by Dr. Elihu Grant. They are dated by their discoverer to about 1400 B. C.

Somewhere about 1000 B. C., the Israelites under king David seem to have taken Beth-shan from the Philistines.[72] He may have been responsible for the partial demolition of the "house of Ashtaroth" and the "temple of Dagon". We found a new floor laid in the former building over the débris of destruction at such a height as to cover the tops of the stone bases which originally supported the roof columns; it is just possible that this was the work of David, as it seems to have been carried out after(?) the Philistine era. It is interesting to note that no pottery of the so-called "Philistine" type has been found on the tell or elsewhere at Beth-shan, but no doubt many of the examples of Mediterranean type found in the two temples were used by the Philistines.

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[70] Cf. Macalister, *The Philistines*, p. 99,—"Assuming the trophy (*i. e.*, armour of Saul) to have been exposed in the same town as the body . . . then even if it were actually hung in the temple of 'Ashtaroth', there was probably a temple of Dagon also in the town to give rise to the parallel tradition." This was written many years before our temples were found.

[71] See I *Samuel*, xxxi, 7–13; II *Samuel*, xxi, 12–13; and I *Chronicles*, x, 7–12. Cf. also Josephus, *Antiquities*, VI, xiv, 8—The Philistines "dedicated their armour in the temple of Astarte, but hung their bodies on crosses at the walls of the city of Beth-Shan."

[72] Cheyne-Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, 1899, i col., 566 f., briefly summarizes the history of Beth-shan, and states, *inter alia*, that "though Beth-shan may be one of the 'cities of the Jordan' (I *Samuel*, xxxi, 7—corr. text) which the Israelites deserted after the battle of Gilboa, it is equally likely that it was still a Canaanitish city when captured by the Philistines. We know, at any rate, that it retained its Canaanite population for some time after the Israelite occupation of Palestine (*Judges*, i, 27; *Joshua*, xvii, 11, 16). It may possibly have been as late as David that this great fortress fell into the hands of the Israelites." The reference in *Joshua*, xvii, 16, to the iron chariots of Beth-shan and neighbouring places is particularly interesting.

Our next reference to Beth-shan belongs to the time of king Solomon (c. 970 B. C.), for we read in I *Kings*, iv, 12, that it was incorporated in a certain district held by Baana, an official of the king: "Baana the son of Ahilud; to him pertained Taanach and Megiddo, and all Beth-shean, which is by Zartanah beneath Jezreel, from Beth-shean to Abel-meholah, even unto the place that is beyond Jokneam." It was the duty of Baana to provide victuals for Solomon and his household for one month every year. After the division of the kingdom of the Hebrews under Solomon's successor, Rehoboam, king Sheshonk I of Egypt invaded Palestine. This was about 926 B. C.[73] His troops entered the plains of Esdrælon and Jezreel and plundered Beth-shan, Taanach, Shunem, Megiddo,[74] etc.

From the eighth century B. C. to the time of the Scythian invasion, Palestine was under Assyrian dominion. The Scythians were Indo-Europeans from the far north who, between 630 and 625 B. C., entered western Asia, over-running Assyria, Palestine, etc. They reached as far as the borders of Egypt where they were doubtless bought off by king Psammetichus I. Herodotus (i, 106) says they terrorized western Asia for twenty-eight years, but the exact length of time is unknown. As a consequence of the invasion the mighty Assyrian empire was brought to nought. In Hellenistic and Roman times Beth-shan was known as Σκυθῶν πόλις (or Σκυθόπολις), *i.e.*, perhaps, "City of the Scythians", and also as Nysa, but it is not exactly certain whether the first part of the name "Scythopolis" refers to the Scythian invasion or is a corruption of some word other than "Scythian".[75] A small pottery figurine from Beth-shan believed to have been Scythian (Père Vincent now thinks it is rather earlier) is published in *Revue Biblique*, 1905, plate opposite p. 96, fig. 1, and is reproduced by kind permission of Père Vincent in the present work, Pl. 54, No. 1. This figurine is similar to another one, from Saida, published by Virolleaud, *Syria*, V, 1924, pl. XXXI, No. 2. A magnificent onyx cylinder seal, dating to the older Cassite Dynasty of Babylon, which was found in No. IV city-level in 1926, may be a relic of the Assyrian occupation of Beth-shan. Nothing which could really be identified as Scythian has yet been brought to light on the tell or in the cemetery.

Following the break-up of the Assyrian Empire, Necho, king of Egypt, passed through Palestine in 608 B.C. and defeated Josiah, king of Judah, on the plain of Esdrælon.[76] He then pressed on to the Euphrates, perhaps passing Beth-shan en route or even sending forces to plunder it. He was, however, defeated by Nebuchadrezzar, whose father, Nabopolassar, had founded the New Babylonian Empire on the ruins of the old Assyrian one. Nebuchadrezzar followed up his victory and shortly afterwards took possession of Syria and Palestine. An interesting fiction about the campaign is contained in *Judith*, in which Holofernes (said to have been the general of Nebuchadrezzar) crossed the upper Euphrates, turned into the plain of Damascus, and, after receiving the submission of Tyre and Sidon, Azotus and Ascalon went south to the plain of Esdrælon. "And he came towards Esdrælon nigh unto Dotæa (Dothan), which is over against the great ridge of Judæa. And he encamped between Geba and Scythopolis, and he was there a whole month, that he might gather together all the baggage of his host."—*op. cit.*, iii, 9–10.

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[73] Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, p. 529.

[74] Dr. Breasted announced in the press in 1925 the discovery by his expedition at Megiddo of the portion of a monument bearing the name of Sheshonk I; see Fisher, *The Excavation of Armageddon*, Orient. Inst. Communications No. 4, 1929, figs. 7A, 7B. The above mentioned list of places is in the Karnak temple.

[75] On the names Scythopolis and Nysa see *Cambridge Ancient History*, iii, p. 146; G. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 363–364; *Polybii Historiae*, ed. Teubner, Leipzig, 1899, ii, p. 191; *C. Plini N. H.*, v, 18 [16] ed. Teubner, 1906, i, p. 392; Conder and Kitchener, *op. cit.*, p. 103; de Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, pp. 287–290; Reland, *loc. cit.;* Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine*, pp. xxxiv–xxxvii, 75–77; and Abel, *Revue Biblique*, 1912, pp. 413–414.

[76] II *Kings*, xxiii, 29–30; II *Chronicles*, xxxv, 20–24.

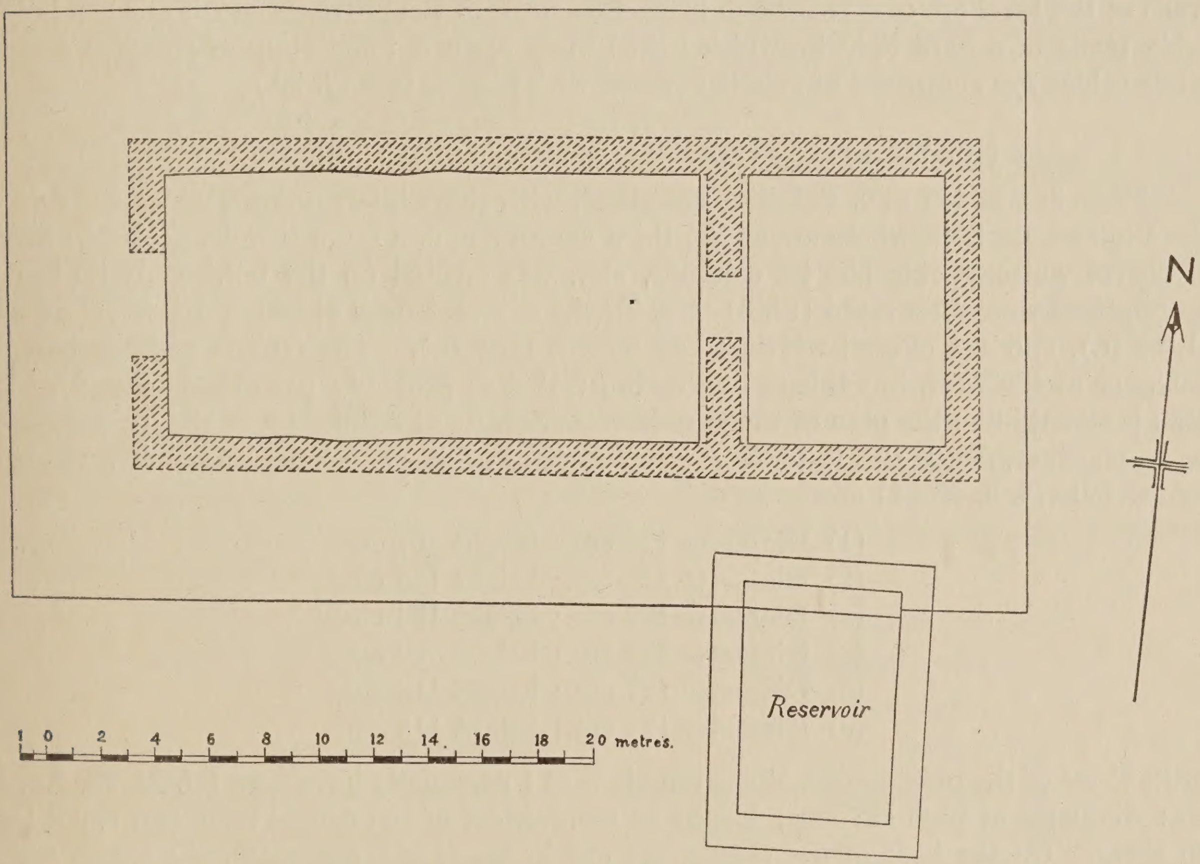

Fig. 9.—Plan of the foundations of the Hellenistic temple in No. III city-level. The hatching represents our suggested restorations of the walls. See p. 44.

The New Babylonian Empire did not last very long, for in 538 B. C.[77] Cyrus the Persian captured Babylon and founded the Old Persian Kingdom, which afterwards embraced within its extensive limits the province of Syria and Palestine. The coming of the Macedonian conqueror Alexander the Great put an end to the Old Persian Kingdom in 332 B. C. Three years after the death of Alexander (323 B. C.), Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, of Egypt, invaded Cœle-Syria, but subsequently withdrew. He returned however in 302 B. C. and subdued the whole of the country. With his advent the history of No. IV city-level comes to an end.

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[77] Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, 5th ed., pp. 559–560.

Owing to the way in which the whole level has been successively destroyed and rebuilt, it is impossible to say exactly to what period any given room belongs, and, as might be expected, unbroken objects are very rarely found in it. Some of the earlier walls of the level are of soft reddish brick (the walls of the previous city-levels are invariably made of a hard light-brownish brick) built upon a foundation of smallish stones, while others are composed of rubble covered with plaster (see Pl. 30.)

## No. III City-level—Hellenistic, Jewish and Roman

From 301 to 198 B. C. Palestine remained, with short interruptions, under the rule of the Ptolemies. Somewhere about the third century B. C. a large temple, probably made of coarse white marble like its columns, etc., was erected on the tell. Only its basalt foundations were discovered (Pl. 31, No. 2), the overall length of which was 37.05 metres (121½ ft.), and the overall width, 22.08 metres (72½ ft.). The temple perhaps had its entrance at the west, but this is not certain; it was probably peripteral (Fig. 9). Its plan is exactly like the plan of the temple of Aphrodite at Naukratis in Egypt, published by E. Gardner, *Naukratis*, ii, pl. I. The dimensions of the six column drums now existing on the tell (Pl. 8, No. 2) are:

(1) Diameter 130 cm.; height 87 cm.
(2) Diameter 120 cm.; height 135 cm.
(3) Diameter 129 cm.; height 124 cm.
(4) Diameter 132 cm.; height 80 cm.
(5) Diameter 127 cm.; height 112 cm.
(6) Diameter 125 cm.; height 115 cm.

while those of the only capital of the temple that I personally have seen (cf. Pl. 52, No. 1) are: diameter at base 127 cm.; height 66 cm. Most of the drums have two small lugs on them. On the base of the capital are cut in the Greek character, the words "The Quarter of the Corn-Market(?)"; see p. 48 below. According to Dr. Fisher, *The Museum Journal*, December, 1923, p. 239, the column bases had the usual Attic contour, while the capitals were Corinthian. It seems very probable that the temple was dedicated to Dionysos (Bacchus), or even perhaps to Astarte-Atargatis (see below). Dr. Fisher has stated (*loc. cit.*) that "much of the detail clearly belonged to the Roman period. [The temple certainly continued to be used during this period.] A garlanded head of Bacchus from the frieze suggested that the temple, at least in the later period, was dedicated to that deity. This inference was further supported by several fine terracotta figurines of Bacchus nursed by nymphs found in the [great northern] cemetery." Cornices, etc., belonging to the temple are shown in Pl. 52, Nos. 2–4. A rather well-made head of white marble, about 42 centimetres high, was found in 1925 in the débris of the large reservoir built on the south side of the temple; this head, according to Mr.

H. B. Walters of the British Museum, dates to the third century B. C. (Pl. 55). It must have formed part of a statue (of Dionysos(?)), erected in the temple. Fragments of a huge marble colossus, consisting of two gigantic toes, a finger joint and parts of the thumb and finger of a right hand (Pl. 45, No. 4), have also been discovered in the Hellenistic level, but of what statue they formed part we have of course no means of knowing. In 1923 a fine hoard of silver tetradrachms of Ptolemy Philadelphus was unearthed in a part of the tell near the temple.[78]

Very little is known of Beth-shan during Hellenistic times for, excepting the temple, a few other remains on the tell, and some tombs in the great northern cemetery (to be referred to later), nothing of any importance has been brought to light. The chief deities of the age appear to have been Dionysos and Astarte.

In the year 198 B. C. the country came under the domination of the kings of Syria, the Seleucidæ, as a result of the final conquest of Antiochus III; Antiochus had twice previously endeavoured to gain permanent control of Palestine, once in the spring of 218 B. C., when he captured Beth-shan, etc., (E. Bevan, *History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 227) and once in 202 B. C. (*op. cit.*, p. 256). Apart from a fragmentary Greek inscription dating to about the second century B. C. which, according to Pères Abel and Vincent, gives an official list of the priests who served in the Hellenistic temple of Beth-shan,[79] and a quantity of pottery, nothing much has yet been unearthed on the site which could be attributed to the time of the Seleucidæ, although of course the tell was occupied during the whole of this period. A number of analogous texts permitted the following partial reconstruction of the above mentioned inscription; the words are of course not divided in the original:—

| | |
|---|---|
| [IEPEIΣ ΔIOΣ] OΛΥΜΠ[IOΥ] | "[Priests of the] Olympian [Zeus] |
| [KAI ΘEΩN ΣΩTH]PΩN | [and of the] Saviour [Gods]. |
| ET[OΥΣ . . .] | In the year . . . . . . |
| . . . . . . . . ]ΩN TOΥ BAΣIΛEΩΣ | . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . of the king. |
| [EΥBO]ΥΛOΣ EΠIKPATOΥ | Euboulos son of Epicrates. |
| . . . . . . . ΣΩΣ . . . . . . . . . OΥ | . . . . . sos . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ou. |
| [HPAKΛ]EIΔHΣ ΣAPAΠIΩNOΣ | Heraclides son of Sarapion." |

Nothing is known from other sources about the priests Euboulos, . . . sos, and Heraclides; but it is hoped that further excavations will provide us with the missing fragments of the monument so that the whole of the text can be read. The original inscription is shown in Pl. 53, No. 1.

We learn from Josephus, *Antiquities*, XIII, vi, 1, 2, that Tryphon, a usurper of the throne of Syria during the reign of Demetrius II (146–142 B. C., and again 128–125 B. C.), went to Beth-shan with an army in order to engage Jonathan, the high-priest of the Jews, who had an army of 40,000 men under him. By means of a strategy Jonathan was prevailed upon to dismiss his army, while he himself was subsequently put to death by Tryphon.[80] The end of the rule of the Seleucidæ in Beth-shan came about 108 B. C., when Epicrates, general of king Antiochus Cyzicenus, "openly betrayed" the place and other places near it for a sum of money[81] to John Hyrcanus, the prince and high-priest of the Jews and conqueror of Samaria and Peræa.

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[78] Cf. Fisher, *The Museum Journal*, December, 1923, p. 242; the coins do not (in the main) belong to Soter as stated in this article.

[79] The stone bearing this inscription was discovered, in 1925, in the débris of the base of the Byzantine reservoir which was sunk in the east end of the southern temple of Rameses II. Below the reservoir was another reservoir of the Hellenistic period.

The Jews held Beth-shan until the arrival of Pompey in 64 B. C., when the period of Roman domination began. Nothing of importance is known of the Jewish period except that Josephus, *Antiquities*, XIII, xiii, 2, mentions that Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy VII of Egypt, visited the town and made "a league of mutual assistance" with Alexander Jannæus, the king of the Jews (103–76 B. C.).

Shortly after the beginning of the Roman period, Beth-shan was rebuilt by Gabinius,[82] a Roman proconsul who came to the country in 57 B. C. It now became a self-governing town of the Roman empire, and it is said to have been greater than Jerusalem in population and commerce;[83] it was, in fact, the chief city of the famous Decapolis or league of ten cities, all of which, with the exception of Beth-shan, were on the east side of the river Jordan. The nine other cities were Pella, Dion, Gerasa, Philadelphia, Gadara, Raphana, Kanatha, Hippos and Damascus. To the original league of ten, from which the Decapolis derived its name, more cities were added later on.[84] It may have been Gabinius who built the large theatre (Pl. 7) and the hippodrome near to the south of the tell, but this of course is not certain. The hippodrome was possibly the place of the sportive games of Scythopolis mentioned in an inscription from Aphrodisias in Karia (of the period of Marcus Aurelius, 121–180 A. D.) and in another inscription from Laodicea in Syria (of the year 221 A. D.); cf. Schürer, *Geschichte d. jüd. Volkes*, II, p. 49. (Père Abel, *Revue Biblique*, 1912, p. 414, refers to these structures—which are described in Part I of this book—as being among "the remains of *Hellenic* culture at Scythopolis".)

In the year 66 A. D., Vespasian was sent by the emperor Nero to put down the Jewish insurrection in Palestine, and the fifth and tenth legions subsequently spent a winter-season in Beth-shan, which city, according to Josephus, *Wars*, II, xviii, 1, had been laid waste by the Jews, who had slaughtered a great number of its men. Josephus, *Wars*, II, xviii, 3–4, laments the fact that many of the Jews of Beth-shan turned against their own people and sided with the Romans; during one night, by means of a trick, the traitors were enabled to cut the throats of thirteen thousand inhabitants. He mentions in particular one Simon, the son of Saul, a man of great reputation among the Jews. "This man was distinguished from the rest by the strength of his body and the boldness of his conduct, although he abused them both to the mischieving of his countrymen; for he came every day and slew a great many of the Jews of Scythopolis. . . . But a just punishment overtook him for the murders he had committed upon those of the same nation with him; for when the people of Scythopolis threw their darts at them in the grove (*i.e.*, the Roman soldiers) he drew his sword, but did not attack any of the enemy; for he saw that he could do nothing against such a multitude; but he cried out, after a very moving manner, and said 'O you people of Scythopolis, I deservedly suffer for what I have done with relation to you, when I gave you such security of my fidelity to you, by slaying so many of those who were related to me. Wherefore we very justly experience the perfidiousness of foreigners, while we acted after a most wicked manner against our own nation. I will therefore die, polluted wretch as I am, by my own hands; for it is not fit I should die by the hand of our enemies. . . .' Now when he had said this, he looked round about him upon his family with eyes of commiseration and of rage (that family consisted of a wife and children, and his aged parents); so in the first place he caught his father by the grey hairs, and ran his sword through him,—and after him he did the same to his mother, who willingly received it; and after them he did the like to his wife and children, every one almost offering themselves to his sword, as desirous to prevent being slain by their enemies; so when he had gone over all his family, he stood upon their bodies to be seen by all, and stretching out his right hand, that his action might be observed by all, he sheathed his entire sword in his own bowels."[85]

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[80] Cf. I *Maccabees*, xii, 39–42.

[81] *Antiquities*, XIII, x, 3.

[82] *Antiquities*, XIV, v, 3; *Wars*, I, viii, 4. Pompey is said to have "restored" the city—see *Antiquities*, XIV, iv, 4.

[83] Meistermann, *op. cit.*, p. 614.

[84] G. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, chaper xxviii.

We do not know so much as we should like about Beth-shan in Roman times, but scattered here and there through the works of early writers we come across a few interesting references. Thus from the *Vita Plotini*, written by Porphyry during the Roman period, we learn that Plotinus, the most important representative of the Neo-Platonic system (203–262 A. D.), had among his pupils one "Paulinus, a student of medicine, from Scythopolis, whom Amelius called Miccalus".[86] From other sources we see that Basilides (the younger), a philosopher and one of the teachers of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (161–180 A. D.), was born in the city.[87]

The Roman period may be said to have lasted until about 330 A. D., when the Byzantine or Eastern Roman Christian Empire was inaugurated by Constantine the Great. But already before the close of the Roman period, Christianity had penetrated into Beth-shan, and numbers of Christians were martyred there at the time of the persecutions of Decius (250 A. D.) and Diocletian.[88] Eusebius informs us that during the age of the martyrs under Diocletian (303–311 A. D.) there was at Beth-shan a holy man called St. Procopius, a native of Jerusalem, who was lector, exorcist, and interpreter of the Syriac tongue at the former place. St. Procopius, who was originally a Levite, was the first Christian martyred in Cæsarea (on the 7th July, 303 A. D.) and received the title of the "Great Martyr". After he was seized and taken to Cæsarea, Procopius refused to sacrifice to the gods, declaring that there is only one God, the Creator of all things. When the prefect, Flavian, desired him to burn incense to the four supreme rulers of the Empire he replied smilingly with this line from the Iliad: "It is not good to have many chiefs; there should be only one chief, only one king." During this persecution and in the same place, a virgin of Beth-shan, named Ennathas, was put to death after having been left half naked along the road of Cæsarea by a local tribune, the fanatic Maxys. The first bishop of the town was Patrophilus, who was present at the Palestinian Council which took place in 318 A. D. He also attended the first Council of Nicæa in 325 A. D.[89] On the local history of the Jews about this time see above, footnote 9.

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[85] All the above references from Josephus are from William Whiston, *The Works of Flavius Josephus*, Ward, Lock and Co., London. Josephus, the famous Jewish historian, was born at Jerusalem in 37 A. D. and was one of the generals of the Jews in their revolt against the Romans.

[86] Reland, *loc. cit.* A good sketch of Neo-Platonism is given by E. M. Forster, *Alexandria: A History and Guide*, Alexandria, 1922, pp. 64–68.

[87] Pauly Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classichen Altertumswissenchaft*, iii, p. 46; Reland, *loc. cit.*, quoting Anastasius, *Quaest*, p. 18; Conder and Kitchener, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[88] Conder and Kitchener, *op. cit.*, p. 107; G. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

From the coins of Beth-shan we learn that there were two eras in the history of the town in Roman times, the one commencing between 66 and 60 B. C., doubtless in 64 B. C., the date of the Roman conquest, and the other (the Cæsarean) commencing in 47 B. C.[90] From these coins also, we may assume that the following deities were revered there: Dionysos or Bacchus, Nysa (generally seated in a temple suckling Dionysos), Athena, Demeter, a recumbent river-god—the Jordan—and the city-goddess.[91] A most interesting pottery object said to have come from Beth-shan (it is now in the Louvre Museum) and showing the figure of a goddess of the Roman era, doubtless Astarte, has just been published by Père S. Ronzevalle, in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth*, XII, fasc. 3, V, Pl. XXII, fig. 2, and pp. 163 ff., and is reproduced by his kind permission on Pl. 54, No. 2 of the present work. The goddess is clothed in an all-enveloping robe and stands within a niche under an acute pediment broken by a round arch and supported by two thick columns. It may be that this sheltering arch represents the canopy under which the goddess was worshipped in her temple. An important fact just brought to light by Mr. G. M. FitzGerald (see *Quarterly Statement*, P.E.F. July, 1927, pp. 150–154) is that the town was now divided into *amphoda* or quarters, the names of two of which, "The Quarter of the Corn Market(?)", and "The Quarter of Demetrius", were found on the tell, on a capital and a column drum respectively, during 1921 and 1922. The Demetrius in question was probably a local *amphodarch*. The Old Hellenistic temple on the tell was still in use in Roman times, for evidence of which statement see Fisher, *The Museum Journal*, December, 1923, p. 239, already referred to above.

Very important objects of the Hellenistic and Roman periods were found in the

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[89] Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 417; Meistermann, *loc. cit.*; Reland, *loc. cit.* Reland also mentions the names of three other bishops of Beth-shan: (1) Saturninus, who signed at the first Council of Constantinople, (2) Severianus, mentioned amongst the bishops of the Second Palestine, who signed at the Council of Chalcedon (451 A. D.), and (3) Theodosius, whose name is in the Epistle of John of Jerusalem, which is inserted in the records of the Council of Constantinople (536 A. D.). A fuller list of the bishops is given by Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 418, note 2: "les ariens Patrophile, Philippe et Athanase, 318–380 A. D., les orthodoxes Saturnin (381 A. D.), Théodose (404 A. D.), Acace (431 A. D.), Sévérien (451 A. D.), Olympius (466 A. D.), Cosmas (466–496 A. D.), disciple de S. Euthyme, ancien stavrophylax à Jérusalem, Jean (avant 518 A. D.), Théodose (518–544 A. D.)". Archibishop Cleopas the Greek Metropolitan of Nazareth, kindly gives me the following list of bishops of Beth-shan, as preserved in the records of his church: (1) Patrophilus, who took part at the Council of Nicæa in 325 A. D., (2) Asterius of Scythopolis, who seems to have been one of the bishops, according to Hieronymus, (3) Philippus, the successor(?) of Patrophilus, (4) Athanasius, 380 A. D., (5) Saturninus, who signed at the first Council of Constantinople, (6) Theodosius, 404 A. D., (7) Acacius, 431 A. D., (8) Severianus, 451 A. D., (9) Olympius, 452 A. D., (10) Cosmas, 466–496 A. D., (11) Johannes, 497 A. D., (12) Theodosius, 518–544 A. D., (13) Germanus, recorded by the Patriarch Dositheus, and (14) Gerasimus, who was consecrated Metropolitan of Beth-shan in 1881 and held this title until 1885, when he was elected Patriarch of Antioch; in 1891 he was elected Patriarch of Jerusalem. Gerasimus was the last Metropolitan of Beth-shan. It seems a great pity that this ancient office has been dropped.

[90] Hill, *op. cit.*, p. xxxv.

[91] Dr. G. A. Smith, in a personal letter, draws my attention to the fact that de Saulcy, *op. cit.*, p. 288, published a coin, dating between the years 57 and 42 B. C., which shows a figure of the Astarte of Beth-shan.

Beth-shan great northern cemetery during the excavations of 1922 and 1926. The tombs of these periods are as a rule of the *kokim* or *loculus* type, which consists of a rectangular rock-cut hall with *loculi* or oblong chambers made in its side. Into these *loculi* were deposited either the bodies alone or else the sarcophagi containing them, the feet or the head of the body being placed towards the hall. Often after the side chambers were filled up, burials were made in the hall itself, sometimes in sarcophagi and sometimes in trough-like graves excavated in the floor and covered with slabs. In other cases roofed-in pits were actually sunk in the floor of the *loculus* itself. Children as a rule were buried in small slots made in the hall floor or in pottery boxes with sliding lids. The roof of the hall is usually vaulted and, like the walls, covered with a layer of white plaster. Each tomb has a flight of steps leading down into it with a stone swing-door near the top step. No *triclinium*, or couch used in connection with the funerary repasts, such as is to be seen in the cemeteries at Jerusalem, Alexandria and elsewhere, has been found in our tombs. Another type of tomb, which seems to be Hellenistic, consists of plain graves excavated in the rock, each of dimensions sufficient for a single burial. Some of these are grouped together on a ledge in the slope of the cemetery; this ledge has a flight of rough steps leading down to it. Certain of the Hellenistic and Roman tombs were reused in Byzantine times.[92]

In one of the Roman tombs was discovered in 1922 the sarcophagus of Antiochus (Pl. 54, No. 3), perhaps the first cousin of Herod the Great (37–4 B. C.).[93] When the cover of the sarcophagus was removed it was seen that the latter was partly filled with a layer of dried and cracked clay or mud. After this layer was taken away, the bones of two skeletons were found at the bottom of the sarcophagus, the one skeleton belonging to a man, doubtless Antiochus, and the other to a child, evidently a girl. The north end of the sarcophagus was broken; and it seems very likely that it was through the forced aperture that the later and intrusive burial, as that of the girl must have been, was made. Both skulls were found at the south end. Associated with the skeletons were a number of broken long-necked glass vases, a small glass pot, part of a gold earring and part of some small bronze object, perhaps a trinket.

During the whole of the time represented by No. III city-level, and also during the time equivalent to Nos. II and I levels, dressed stone was used for all the buildings on the tell. The walls of the buildings in the previous levels were almost invariably made of brick, in many cases resting upon foundations of undressed stones, the only exception being in a few instances such as in No. IV level where rubble was occasionally employed in place of brick.

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[92] Mainly for this reason, the brief account which we give of the objects found in the Hellenistic and Roman tombs is incorporated with that of the objects found in Byzantine tombs (dealt with in the historical section covering city-level No. II, pp. 50–53).

[93] The inscription on the coffin is in the Greek character and indicates that the burial is that of "Antiochus, the son of Phallion". According to Josephus (*Antiquities*, XIV, ii, 3, and *Wars*, I, vi, 3), there was a Phallion who was the brother of Antipater, father of Herod. Consequently, if Antiochus was the son of this particular Phallion, he was the first cousin of Herod; cf. *Revue Biblique*, July, 1923, p. 435. The inscription runs along the top of one side of the coffin which side has two disks in relief cut on it. The opposite side has two rectangles and between them a disk surrounded by a ring, all in relief. The ends are plain. There is a small head-rest inside one end of the coffin.

## No. II City-level—Byzantine, or Eastern Roman Christian

No. II city-level is Byzantine and lasted from 330 A. D. to the conquest by the Arabs in 636 A. D. Very many remains of Byzantine times have been found at Beth-shan, and these were discovered chiefly during the years from 1921 to 1923. They comprise a church of rotunda form situated on top of the tell, a great wall that ran round the whole of the city site, and various other antiquities, all of which have been referred to in past numbers of *The Museum Journal.* A small fragment of a Byzantine inscription of about the fifth century or beginning of the sixth century, A. D., was found in 1925, in the Byzantine reservoir sunk in the eastern end of the southern temple of Rameses II (Pl. 31, No. 3). From the works of early writers we learn of various religious buildings at Beth-shan in Byzantine times: the Church of St. John and a Sanctuary to the Apostle Thomas, both in the suburbs, a Chapel of St. Procopius the martyr of 303 A. D., an old church in the centre of the town, and the Church of St. Basil. The Monastery of Enthenaneth was close by the Church of St. John.[94] Beth-shan was the Metropolitan See of the Second Palestine (see footnote 103 below), a position which it held until the time of the Crusaders when the See was transferred to Nazareth.

It will be convenient if we give in tabular form some of the main facts known about the history of the city during Byzantine times:

A. D.

333 In this year the Pilgrim of Bordeaux wrote his *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, in which he mentions "Civitas Sciopoli" or City of Scythopolis, as a place apparently visited by him.[95]

355 St. Eusebius, having refused during the Council of Milan to take part in the condemnation of St. Athanasius was exiled to Beth-shan by the emperor Constantine II. He subsequently met there St. Gaudentius, Bishop of Novara, Deacon Syr, the Exorcist Victorin, and St. Epiphanius.[96] St. Epiphanius (*Adversus Hæreses*, I, p. 128) states that Joseph, a Jewish convert to Christianity, went to Beth-shan and acquired a sumptuous house for himself there in which he sheltered St. Eusebius for some time. Epiphanius also states that he himself was there with Joseph, and that all who were in Beth-shan except Joseph were in favour of the Arian sect.[97]

361 In this year, under Julian the Apostate, great persecutions of Christians took place at Beth-shan, the martyrs being given over to wild beasts.[98] It was at the same time, according to the *Chronicon Paschale* (361 A. D.), that the grave of St. Patrophilus, the first bishop of Beth-shan, was rifled. His remains were dispersed, with the exception of his skull, which was contumeliously suspended as a lamp.[99]

508–509 Tablet set up at Beth-shan by Flavius Arsenius referring to the restoration of the city walls. The inscription reads: "By reason of the grant of divine liberality, at the instance of the most illustrious Flavius Arsenius, the whole work of the wall was restored in the time of the Emperor Flavius Anastasius, in the ninth month of the archonship."[100]

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[94] Cf. Reland, *loc. cit.*, and Abel, *op. cit.*, pp. 419–420. Franc, *La Palestine*, p. 350, says: "Under Justinian, Scythopolis had two churches, the one dedicated to St. Thomas and the other to St. Basil." The buildings dedicated to St. John and the Apostle Thomas, says Père Abel, were liturgical meeting places for the anchorites scattered about the country, where the abundance of palm trees provided them with the materials for their industry of basket-making.

[95] Paulus Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana sæculi IV–VIII*, Vienna, 1898, p. 19.

[96] Meistermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 614–615; Abel, *op. cit.*, pp. 417–418.

[97] Reland, *loc. cit.*; Abel, *loc. cit.*

[98] *Ammiani Marcellini rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt*, Berlin, 1871, p. 164 f. (xix, 12, 8).

[99] Reland, *loc. cit.*

509–510 Another tablet set up at Beth-shan by the same person: "By reason of the grant of divine liberality, at the instance of the most illustrious Flavius Arsenius, the whole of the work of the wall was restored in the time of Flavius Leon, the megaloprepestatos and archon."

518 In this year (Abel, *op. cit.*, pp. 418–419) John, Patriarch of Jerusalem, entrusted to St. Sabas and several others the task of announcing in Cæsarea and in Beth-shan the decrees made by the Emperor Justinian with regard to the recall of the exiles of the orthodox church and the inclusion of the four decrees in the diptychs of the church. On the arrival of St. Sabas, all the citizens of Beth-shan, with the Metropolitan Theodore, came to meet him along the road to Cæsarea, as far as the Church of the Apostle Thomas. There, to the chanting of psalms, the emissaries were led to the old church where they celebrated the synaxis, and where the "divine decree" was made known to the faithful. While in the town St. Sabas was warned of a trap set for the Christians by the Samaritan Silvanus, a powerful dignitary of the Byzantine Empire. Two other happenings are recorded of the first visit of St. Sabas. Passing through the town one day to visit an anchorite in the Monastery of Enthenaneth, near the Church of St. John, the saint met and cured a very sick person lying under the eastern portico. At the same monastery, St. Sabas with the oil of the Cross delivered a young girl of the evil spirits by which she was possessed.

529 The insurrection of the Samaritans (against the Byzantine Empire) at Nâblus, where all manner of horrors were committed, caused the people of Beth-shan to dread the same excesses, so they seized the powerful Silvanus and burned him in the centre of the town. Arsenius, the son of Silvanus, who had great influence at Constantinople, then endeavoured to turn the minds of the court against the Christians of Beth-shan, but St. Sabas hurried to Constantinople and managed not only to defeat the aims of Arsenius, who was subsequently executed, but to obtain exemption of taxation for the First and Second Palestines which had been so impoverished by the depredations of the Samaritans.[101]

530 Theodosius visited Beth-shan. See footnote 106 below.

532 St. Sabas returned from Constantinople and was received with great enthusiasm at Beth-shan. He was lodged in the house of the martyr Procopius (slain in 303 A. D.), and afterwards paid a visit to the Abbot Procopius, who lived a hermit's life near the Sanctuary of St. Thomas (Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 420).

536 Strategius, a deacon and monk of the Monastery of St. John at Beth-shan, was present at the Council of Constantinople.[102] From *Conciliorum*, tom. xi, Paris, 1644, p. 308, we learn that Strategius signed a letter addressed to Justinian by certain monks, including those of the Three Palestines,[103] as follows: "I, Strategius, by the mercy of God deacon and monk, and for all the monks of Palæstina Secunda, have prayed and signed."[104]

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[100] Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 418. This Arsenius may well have been the son of Silvanus who was burned in Beth-shan in 529 A. D. I have been unable to trace the source of the other inscription of Arsenius, dated 509–510; it appears in a note among the earlier records of the Expedition.

[101] Abel, *op. cit.*, pp. 419–420; Meistermann, *op. cit.*, p. 615.

[102] Reland, *loc. cit.*

[103] Palestine, in the fifth century, was divided into three provinces: Palestine I, comprising the western portion of Judæa, the Philistine seacoast and Samaria, with Cæsarea for its capital; Palestine II, including Galilee and Peræa, having Beth-shan for its capital; and Palestine III, or *Salutaris*, comprising the southern portion of Judæa and Peræa as well as the northern portion of Arabia Petræa, with Petra for its capital. The three Palestines contained about seventy-three Episcopal Sees.—Meistermann, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[104] I owe this latter reference to Mr. G. M. FitzGerald.

c. 570 Antoninus Placentinus (*Antonini Placentini Itinerarium*), writes: "As we descend through Galilee near the Jordan, passing through many so-called cities, we arrive in the metropolitan city of Galilee, which is called Scitopolis; it is situated upon a mountain where St. John works many miracles."[105]

636 Arabs conquer Beth-shan.—End of Byzantine period.[106]

Many of the Byzantine buildings on the tell had very solid foundations which were sunk far into the old Egyptian levels; in one case they reached the floor of city-level No. VII (Pl. 31, No. 1). A good number of the basalt stones in the walls of these buildings had painted on them in red certain letters of the Greek alphabet, each stone having a single character on it. These letters were used as quarrymen's marks, each character doubtless representing a particular gang of labourers.

During our excavations of 1926 in the great northern cemetery we came across many Byzantine tombs which, as a rule, consist of a small rock-cut hall with vaulted graves on three sides of it (Pl. 6). The graves are divided from the hall by means of small walls of stone covered with plaster; most of them have a rock head-rest at one end. Like those of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the tombs of this period have a flight of steps and a stone door (Pl. 5, No. 3). A door from one of the Byzantine tombs provided an interesting feature because it bore in the Greek character the name "Apolinarius", which presumably indicates one of the occupants of the sepulchre (Pl. 53, No. 2). From the same tomb came a basalt lock—a device for fixing the bolt which closed the door on the inside. Both the door and the lock are in the University Museum. One tomb had crosses in red paint (varying from three to four) over each grave.

The objects found in the tombs of the Hellenistic, Roman[107] and Byzantine periods are very interesting and important. Among those discovered in the 1926 season may be mentioned alabaster vessels; a good quantity of pottery of all shapes, some of it being of the fine red-polished Arretine type; many glass vessels, including *lacrymatoria* or tear-bottles; *askoi* (*i.e.*, "wine-skin" shaped vessels), one in the form of a ram; pottery statuettes, one representing either Isis and Horus or the Virgin and Child, and one representing a rider on a horse; very many pottery lamps; Byzantine glass mirrors set in limestone frames; bronze sistra, bells, buckles, tools, bangles, mirrors, knives; a bronze lancet; a small bronze jug of good design; Byzantine bronze finger rings, some having Maltese crosses on their bezels; iron keys; a quantity of glass beads of various colours and forms; decorated bone hairpins, and so on. A very interesting find was a cubical pottery die, marked and shaped like our modern dice with points numbering from one to six. One of the best objects of Roman times found in the cemetery was a magnificent incense-shovel in bronze, with a handle in the form of an animal's leg and hoof. This is now in the University Museum. In certain tombs crudely-made limestone portrait busts, some bearing the name of the deceased, have been brought to light.

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[105] Paulus Geyer, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

[106] We have not included in the above list the names of two other people who were associated with Beth-shan, namely Cyril (c. 555 A. D.) and Basil (not to be confused with St. Basil the Great). According to Reland, Cyril was a native of Beth-shan; he was the biographer of St. Euthymius (died 474 A. D.) and St. Sabas,—Meistermann, *op. cit.*, p. 615; *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, i, p. 774. When St. Sabas visited Beth-shan in 532 A. D. he blessed the young Cyril, who was later to make the name of his birthplace famous by his hagiographic work of so great a value to the religious history of Palestine of the fifth and sixth centuries,—Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 420. See also *Quarterly Statement*, P.E.F., July, 1929, pp. 172, 173. Basil was one of the persons martyred at Beth-shan but little is known about him excepting that there was a Feast of St. Basil and the Seventy Martyrs at Beth-shan held on July 5th,—*Theodosius*, p. 8 (published by Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society). Theodosius (530 A. D.) writes, "From Sebaste to Scythopolis is 30 miles. There St. Basil suffered martyrdom." Isambert, *Itinéraire de l' Orient*, t. 3, p. 437, says, "Scythopolis gives birth to the Fathers of the Church —Basilides and Cyrill", but has here confused "Basil" with "Basilides". Note also the Church of St. Basil referred to in footnote 94 above. A further bibliography of the saints of the city will be found in our Appendix to History of Beth-shan, section 4, F.

[107] Cf. footnote 92 above.

The end of the Byzantine period in Beth-shan came in 636 A. D. when the Byzantines, having two years previously been defeated by the Arabs across the Yarmûk,[108] fell back on the western side of the Jordan and fortified Beth-shan. They also scattered the water into marshes and thus made the country round the city impassable for the invaders, who then merely blockaded the place waiting until the summer should have dried up the water. But before this time came the Byzantines unwisely attacked the besiegers on their own ground and suffered a decisive defeat. Beth-shan soon surrendered, and in the history of the Moslems the day is known as the "Day of Beisân".[109] The Arab conqueror of Beth-shan, Tiberias, Sepphoris, Ptolemais and Tyre was Shurahbîl, who established the District (*djund*) of the Jordan, of which he was the first governor. This district comprised the towns of the old Palestine II as well as Ptolemais and Tyre. Tiberias was made the capital in place of Beth-shan, which city from that time began to decline. Thus concludes the history of No. II city-level.

## No. I CITY-LEVEL—ARABIC, CRUSADER, ETC.

City-level No. I (Pl. 32) lasted from 636 A. D. until about the nineteenth century, which is probably the date of the latest buildings erected on the tell. The stones employed in the crudely-built structures in this level were taken largely from the old Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine structures, which, as a consequence, suffered much damage.[110] Burials were no longer made in the great northern cemetery but in various other parts of Beth-shan.

The chief historical facts known about Beth-shan during this period and from the nineteenth century to the present time, are now presented:[111]

| A. D. | |
|---|---|
| 661–750 | The poet Ibn Saihân refers to the wines of Beth-shan. See Part I, p. 5. |
| 707 | Death of the poetess Lailâ el-Akhyalîya, who also refers to the wine of the city. See Part I, p. 5, footnote 28. |
| 710 | Death of the poet el-'Akhtal, who says the wine of Beth-shan is especially "sweet" and "light". See Part I, p. 5. |

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[108] Some hold that the battle was fought at Yarmûth,—G. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 359, footnote 3. But see I. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur ältesten Geschichte des Islams*, (*Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, VI), pp. 57–60, who says that the battle of 634 A. D. was fought at Ajnadain, and that two years later another battle took place at the Yarmûk.

[109] G. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 359. Although Beth-shan fell into the hands of the invaders in January, 636, it did not become definitely theirs until 637, after the defeat of Heraclius and the second taking of Damascus,—Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 421.

[110] Details of this city-level, which is now practically cleared away, are given in past numbers of *The Museum Journal*.

[111] Certain of the particulars in this list have already been given in Part I, but they are quoted again here in order to make the list complete. For other details of the period, see our Appendix to History of Beth-shan, (below).

806 ~~786~~ Date of graffito on fallen Byzantine column on tell. The inscription reads: "[Here was] Mohammed, the son of Sa‘îd, the son of el-Khattâb, the companion [of the Prophet], in the month of Rebî‘ the second, in the year 1~~7~~90."[112] This column was lying outside a small rectangular mosque with a *mihrâb* (prayer niche) modelled in white stucco; this was the only mosque found on the tell.

892 Death of Tirmidhî, a writer who refers to the palms of Beth-shan. See Part I, p. 4.

Xth Cent. Mukaddasî refers to various products of the town. See Part I, p. 4.

1096 Date of beginning of First Crusade, during which (later on) Godfrey de Bouillon captured Beth-shan.[113]

XIIth Cent. 'Idrîsî refers to certain reed mats made in the town. See Part I, p. 4, footnote 24.

1106–1107 Abbot Daniel, a Russian pilgrim, visited the place. He says: "The place is truly terrible and dangerous to pass; powerful and impious Saracens live there in great number, and take advantage of the fords of the rivers to attack travellers. Many lions frequent these parts, which are not far distant from the Jordan; great sheets of stagnant water separate the Jordan from the town of Beisân; these rivers fall into the Jordan, and it is there that lions abound. Near the town, on the east side, there is a remarkable natural cavern in the form of a cross: from it flows a spring, which runs into a miraculous reservoir, not made by man's hands, but created by God. In this basin Christ Himself bathed with His disciples and the stone on which He sat can be seen to this day. We unworthy sinners bathed there."[114]

c. 1130 Fetellus, an archdeacon of Antioch, and a traveller to the Holy Land, writes, "two miles from Gelboa [is] Scitopolis, the metropolis of Galilee, which is Bethsan, above the walls of which the head of Saul was hung."[115]

1160–1170 John of Würzburg, a pilgrim, mentions that "two miles from Gilboa, towards the east, is Scythopolis, the chief city of Galilee, which is also called Bethsan, that is, 'House, or City of the Sun'. Above its walls they hanged the head of Saul."[116]

1172 Theoderich, who was probably a German bishop of Würzburg, visited Beth-shan. He says, "a mile from Jezrahel to the eastward are the mountains of Gilboa. Two miles from it stands the city which was once called Bethsan or 'The House of God', and which is now called Scythopolis . . . . This city marks the eastern border of Galilee, whose capital it is. In its neighbourhood, on a lofty mountain, the Hospitallers have built a very strong and spacious castle (doubtless Belvoir, just north of Beth-shan), that they may protect the land on this side the Jordan against the treacherous attacks of Noradin, the despot of Aleppo."[117] In the time of the Crusaders, as we have seen on p. 50, the Episcopal See, as an Archbishopric, was transferred from Beth-shan to Nazareth. When the Crusaders came to the place they found it in full decadence, and they lifted it up in order to establish there the centre of a seignory, the Barony of Bessan, the dignitaries of which belonged to the family of Count Adam de Béthune who took part in the First Crusade and who was the first lord of Beth-shan. He installed himself in a castle on the top of Tell el-Hosn. (Franc, *La Palestine*, p. 350; Abel, *op. cit.*, pp. 421–422.)

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[112] *Revue Biblique*, July, 1923, p. 432.

[113] *The Encyclopædia of Islâm*, i, p. 596.

[114] *The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel in the Holy Land, loc. cit.*

[115] *Fetellus*, p. 32 (Pal. Pil. Text Soc.).

[116] *Description of the Holy Land by John of Würzburg, loc. cit.*

[117] *Theoderich's Description of the Holy Places, loc. cit.*

1183 Saladin conquered Beth-shan and destroyed its fortress. William of Tyre (1182–1185), who gives an account of the conquest, says that in his time the city was practically in ruins and populated by only a few inhabitants.[118]

1192 Saladin restored the city, and several years later we find it governed by Yzz ed-Dîn Samah from Belvoir. (Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 422.)

1217 The King of Hungary (Andrew II) laid claim to all the corn and cattle which he found in the market and round about, and bivouacked there for three days. (Abel, *op. cit.*, pp. 422–423.)

1220 Jacques de Vitry, Bishop of Acre, apparently visited the place, for he gives a brief description of it.[119]

1225 Yâkût, the Arab geographer, visited the site. See Part I, p. 4.

c. 1265–1268 During the course of the campaign against the Crusaders by Baibars (the Mameluke Sultân of Egypt), Beth-shan was destroyed by the Christian warriors.[120]

1283 Burchard of Mt. Sion found the district to be very agreeable: "*Et est locus delicatus multum.*" (Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 423.)

Early XIVth Cent. Parchi resided at Beth-shan. See Part I, p. 3.

Early XIVth Cent. Beth-shan visited by Sir John Maundevile, who writes: "And a Myle fro the Hilles of Gelboe, toward the Est, is the Cytee of Cyropole, that was clept before Bethsayn; And upon the Walles of that Cytee was the Hed of Saul honged."[121]

1306–1321 Marino Sanuto, surnamed Torsellus, passed through Beth-shan.[122]

1308 Building of the Khân el-'Ahmar, or "Red Caravanserai", on the site to the northeast of the present railway station of Beisân (see Part I, p. 3). Pl. 10.

1401 Building of the mosque at Beth-shan. See Part I, p. 3. Pl. 9, No. 1.

1517 Palestine taken from the Egyptians by the Turks. The former had really held the whole of the country from about 1291 A. D. when Melik el-'Ashraf, son of Kilâwûn, Sultân of Egypt, put an end to the rule of the Crusaders.[123]

1806 Seetzen, a German explorer, visited Beth-shan. In his time it consisted of a miserable village of some twenty houses situated "on a little hill, and occupying a small part of the place which the ancient town covered . . . . One still sees here a ruined church, which the inhabitants use as a storehouse for the dried leaves of indigo and for chaff." He says its inhabitants were Egyptians, Arabic peasants and Bedouins.[124]

1812 Burckhardt, a Swiss traveller and orientalist journeyed through Beth-shan. He says: "The present village of Bysân contains seventy or eighty houses; its inhabitants are in a miserable condition, from being exposed to the depredations of the Bedouins of the Ghôr (Jordan Valley), to whom they also pay a heavy tribute."[125]

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[118] Wilermus Tyrensis, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum a tempore successorum Mahumeth, usque ad annum Domini 1184*, (in *Gesta Dei per Francosa*, Hanover, 1611, i, p. 1027 f.; 1037). Cf. also Behâ ed-Dîn, *The Life of Saladin* (P.E.F., 1897), p. 89. Saladin had previously attacked Beth-shan, in 1182, but was repulsed (Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 422).

[119] Jacobus de Vitriaco, *Historia Hierosolimitana* (in *Gesta Dei*, i, p. 1077).

[120] *The Encyclopædia of Islâm, loc. cit.*

[121] *The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundevile*, 1839, pp. 111–112.

[122] Marino Sanuto, *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis de Terræ Sanctæ recuperatione et conservatione* (in *Gesta Dei*, ii, p. 247).

[123] Baedeker, *op. cit.*, p. xciv.

[124] Seetzen, *op. cit.*, pp. 163–165.

[125] Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, pp. 342–344.

1818 Commanders Irby and Mangles, R.N., visited the place. They describe the various ruins, including the Roman theatre, and the sarcophagi and other remains in the great northern cemetery. Referring to the tell they write, "The ruins of one of the gates of the city are very distinguishable, and amongst the remains are prostrate columns of Corinthian architecture." On the top of the tell were still visible parts of the wall that encompassed it.[126]

1818 R. Richardson visited Beth-shan, which he refers to as a "miserable village". It "is just like what a nest of ruffians might be expected to be: a collection of the most miserable hovels; containing about 200 inhabitants; and, in looking at their wretched accommodation, and a Bedoween encampment that was spread out at a little distance in the valley, we were not surprised to hear that in these countries the dwellers in tents look on the dwellers in towns as an inferior class of beings."[127]

1832 'Ibrâhîm Pasha of Egypt conquered Palestine; it was ceded to Egypt by Turkey in 1833.[128]

1839 The French surveyor, de Bertou, who has left us a detailed account of his levelling of the Jordan Valley, visited Beth-shan at the end of April in this year. He found that he was unable to obtain a secure abode in the village because the place was in an uproar owing to the presence of a certain Sheikh Beshîr el-Ksaweh who wished to levy conscripts, in the name of 'Ibrâhîm Pasha of Egypt, from among the Sukkot tribe of Arabs. These Arabs had come in conflict at Beth-shan with some sixty of his men, and the trouble lasted the whole day. (It was the advance of the Turkish army in Syria which had made 'Ibrâhîm Pasha wish to strengthen his army.) De Bertou states that two rival tribes, the one of Sheikh Beshîr, and the other of Sukkot, were always quarreling and contending for the control of Beth-shan, but that, in his time, Sheik Beshîr had maintained his authority in the district as the ally of the Egyptian ruler.[129]

1840 Palestine reconquered by the European powers and handed over to Turkey.[130]

1847 Molyneux, an English naval lieutenant, who was engaged in the examination of the navigation of the River Jordan, visited Beth-shan, which he refers to as a "big Arab village". He says that the country around the village was well irrigated, fertile, and well cultivated with maize. "Fertile as the country around seemed to be, there were found only a few stores, and the inhabitants of Beisân could scarcely be moved to give away some melons. Their perpetual anxiety not to be plundered by Bedouins prevents them from gathering stores."[131]

1852 Robinson (*Later Biblical Researches*, p. 332) now reckoned the population at about 500 souls.

1907 Beth-shan visited by Professor R. A. S. Macalister and Dr. E. W. G. Masterman, now Hon. Secretary of the Palestine Exploration Fund. They both give their impressions of the site, which are very interesting.[132]

1910 Père F. M. Abel visited Beth-shan and subsequently wrote his most excellent account of its history in *Revue Biblique*, 1912, pp. 409–423.

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[126] Irby and Mangles. *Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria and the Holy Land* (new ed., 1868), pp. 91–92.

[127] R. Richardson, *Travels along the Mediterranean and Parts Adjacent*, ii, pp. 418–424.

[128] Baedeker, *op. cit.*, p. xciv.

[129] De Bertou, *Mémoire sur la Dépression, etc.*, in *Bulletin de la Soc. G. de Paris*, xii, pp. 151–160; Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 439.

[130] Baedeker, *loc. cit.*

[131] Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

[132] *Quarterly Statement*, P.E.F., April, 1907, pp. 100–105.

In Turkish times Beth-shan belonged to the *Jiftlik*, or private domains of the Sultân, and was governed as follows:

(1) *Before the Turkish Constitution granted in 1908:*

Beth-shan was a *Mudîrieh* (a district governed by a *mudîr* or "director") judicially attached to Jenîn, but financially independent. It was under the control of the Commission of the Private Domains of the Sultân, in Damascus, which Commission was attached to the Special Treasury in Constantinople. The government staff of the village comprised a *mudîr*, a chief clerk (both appointed by the Commission), and two or three tax collectors appointed by the *mudîr* himself. The tithes were farmed out by order of the local *mudîr* or of the special officer delegated by the Commission. The revenues were collected by the local *mudîr* and remitted either to the Special Treasury or to the Commission.

(2) *After the granting of the Turkish Constitution in 1908:*

Beth-shan remained a *Mudîrieh* as before the Constitution, but was attached to the *Mudîrieh* of the *Mudâwara* Lands (State Lands) at Beyrout, which latter *Mudîrieh* was organized under the supervision of the *walî* (governor) at Beyrout. Two other officials, as revenue clerks, were added to the Beth-shan staff.

(3) *During the Great European War:*

The Turkish administration remained as it was previously but was placed under the supervision of the governor and the accountant of Nablûs and the military commandant of Jenîn. The revenues were collected by the local *mudîr* and remitted either to Nablûs or to Jenîn.[133]

Palestine was lost to the Turks in 1918 and subsequently came under the British Mandate. Beth-shan itself was captured on September 20th by the Tenth Cavalry Brigade of the British army. A most interesting account of the military occupation of Beth-shan immediately after the armistice is given by Captain H. Grose-Hodge in *The Journal of the Central Asian Society*, vol. xv, 1928, pp. 187–202. He says the "personnel consisted of Captain [later, Judge] Grieve and myself . . .; Lieutenant Grant [who] commanded our military forces, a company of Imperial Service infantry, excellent fellows under a fine old Baluch Subadar, and a squadron of Egyptian cavalry under a Bimbashi. We had also a small force of locally raised police—a most amiable crew of ruffians, still half in mufti and half in old Turkish or Austrian uniforms, armed to the teeth, and some of them mounted on little country ponies. I had real affection and respect for these men. . . . In the office we had as both clerks and interpreters two raw Jewish youths from Jaffa; the Courts of Justice were presided over by a native Qazi, who was the sole authority on native law, both civil and religious, as apart from British law which we administered ourselves; a Turkish official called the *ma'mur el'amlâk* dealt with problems arising in connection with land; and a *reis beledîyah*, or Town Clerk, concerted with the Armenian doctor to promote the well-being of the town. These officials, together with ourselves, representatives of the three religious communities, and the elected headmen of the outlying villages, formed the Municipal Council and dealt with matters affecting the urban population, while rural problems came before us in council with the eight Sheiks of the district. Our laws and constitution were delightfully simple. We had a growing file of instructions from Jerusalem which decided any case with which they dealt. But in the vast majority of cases the principle laid down for us was to uphold existing law and institutions, except where definitely contrary to British justice. Such were the problems of government at Beisân and such the machinery with which we had to deal with them."[134] Beth-shan is now allocated to the Nazareth Area of the Northern District of Palestine and is in charge of a local district officer of Palestinian origin.

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[133] The information about the village under Turkish times was kindly forwarded me by Mr. L. Andrews, the chief district officer of the Nazareth Area; this information was compiled for him by Sherîf Abboushî, one of his staff, who was formerly employed by the Turkish Government.

Other recent historical events are as follows:

1921 Excavation of Beth-shan commenced by the Palestine Expedition of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, the work being confined to the tell. On November 19th of this year an agreement was entered into between the Palestine Government and the people who cultivated the lands at Beth-shan formerly belonging to the Sultân (see above). The preamble of the agreement reads: "Whereas the lands . . . were formerly registered in the name of Abdul Hamid II, Sultan of Turkey, and were treated by the Turkish Constitutional Government established in 1908 as State Lands (Mudawara) and leased to cultivators, subject to the payment of an annual rent amounting to 10 per cent on the gross income in addition to the Tithes; and Whereas the Government of Palestine has continued to collect the rental in addition to other taxes payable on Mudawara lands . . . Now this is to witness that this Agreement has been made between the Government of Palestine and the cultivators of the lands as a permanent settlement of their respective rights." It was the above mentioned Sultân who erected the bridge shown in Pl. 12. The Expedition's house is shown in Pl. 13.

1922 Excavations continued; work in the great northern cemetery as well as on the tell.

1923 Excavations carried out on the tell.

1924 No excavations during this year.

1925 Excavations resumed on the tell.

1926 Excavations made on the tell and in the great northern cemetery.

1927 Excavations carried out on the tell. During the course of this campaign, His Excellency Lord Plumer, the High Commissioner of Palestine, visited the Expedition. A unique church was built this year in Beth-shan for the joint use of the Greek Orthodox and Native Anglican communities, the money for which was found by American, English, and Greek supporters (Pl. 9, No. 2). An interesting account of the laying of the foundation stone, written by the Rev. W. H. Stewart, appears in *Bible Lands*, No. 115, vol. vii, Jan., 1928, pp. 854–855. He states, "We left Nazareth by car, the [Greek Orthodox] Archbishop, the Archimandrite Hippolytus, Librarian of the Holy Sepulchre (as the Archbishop had been before him), and myself, taking the main Jerusalem road to the mountains of Gilboa, and then turning eastward over the track that runs under their northern face. There was not a very large congregation: it is distinctly hot at 11.30 on an August morning in the Jordan Valley, and we found that many who had turned out earlier in the day had gone home. Indeed, if the truth be told, we were not strictly up to time. But there was still quite a small crowd waiting for us, headed by the priests of Nazareth and Beisân. A rough board and matting shanty (see Pl. 9, No. 3) had been erected over the corner of the wall, hardly yet above ground level, and in its shade was a little table with a Cross, a censer, a bowl of rose-water and a small bunch of flowers to act as a sprinkler. On it lay also a hammer and trowel—no engraved silver in plush case, but the working tools of the mason, decorated, not disguised, with coloured ribbons. The service was read and chanted, now in Greek, now in Arabic: the priest with the censer and the Archbishop with holy water proceeding within the church wall, and returning to the hole where the corner-stone was to be laid. Stepping down to the stone, the Archbishop signed to me to pray in English—the collect of S. Simon and S. Jude—and then we both laid the stone as well and truly as the narrow hole permitted, the Archbishop inserting the jar containing the parchment [see below] and the mason securing it in place with mortar and small stones. After the service we sat for a time under the trees talking to the villagers, and then adjourned to an enormous lunch in the hospitable house of a Nazareth Christian settled in Beisân." The above mentioned parchment (a translation of the inscription on which is given below) was written in Greek, and now reposes in the jar near the foundation stone, which is at the northwest corner of the church. It bears the date 9th August (= 22nd August of our calendar), and is in the handwriting of the venerable Archbishop Cleopas—"scholar, numismatist, and true father of his clergy". The names of the ecclesiastics present at the historic ceremony are given in the description of Pl. 9, No. 3, in the List of Plates.

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[134] This article was brought to my notice by Mr. N. Bentwich, Attorney General of Palestine. Judge Grieve unfortunately died in 1928; he was then attached to the courts in Jerusalem.

*Translation of inscription on parchment*

"To the Name of the Holy Trinity.

1927 ┼ 1927

Under George V King of England, Coolidge President of the United States of America, Lord Plumer High Commissioner in Jerusalem, the Emir Abdullah ruler of Transjordania, Damianos I Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Rennie MacInnes Bishop of the Anglican Church in Jerusalem, the foundation stone of the Church of Saint John the Forerunner and the great martyr George in Beisân was laid by the Metropolitan of Nazareth Kleopas Kikilides and of the Anglican priests W. H. Stewart and Ch. Bridgeman, for the love of Christ and the mutual support in Christ our God of the two holy Churches of God, Eastern and Anglican, Lord, help us, and stablish this holy house for ever and ever. Lord, help the benefactors John and Constantine Choreme among the Greeks, Annie S. Stebbins and Louise Stebbins among the Americans, and the Fourth Anglo-Catholic Pilgrimage.

Beisân (Scythopolis).
August 9/22, 1927."

The only other Christian church in Beth-shan is a small building which is used by the Latins and which is now in charge of an Italian priest.

1928 Excavations carried out on the tell. During the course of this campaign H. E. Mr. H. C. Luke, the Acting High Commissioner of Palestine, visited the Expedition.

"There are few sites", wrote George Adam Smith about Beth-shan, "which promise richer spoil beneath their rubbish to the first happy explorer with permission to excavate. But meantime, under the shadow of the high mound, where the streams rattle down in the beds they have worn deep for thousands of years, and Jordan lies in front, and Gilead rises over Jordan, it is possible to dream very vivid dreams of a past in which Saul and Judas Maccabeus, Pompey, Cleopatra and Vespasian, the Byzantines and first Moslem invaders, the Crusaders and Saladin, have all played a part."[135]

The truth of this prophecy, which was made many years ago, is now amply proved by our excavations which have provided many archæological treasures of priceless historical value and have thrown much new light upon the ancient civilization of Beth-shan, and incidentally, of Palestine in general.

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[135] G. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 362.

## Appendix to History of Beth-shan

1. *The Encyclopædia of Islâm*, London, 1913, i, p. 596.

"*Baisân* . . . , one of the first towns conquered by the Arabs, in Western Palestine. A system of dams and canals, collecting the waters of several large streams, irrigated and drained the neighbourhood. To defend the town against the invaders, the Byzantine garrison broke through the dams so that vast marshes were formed, which still exist, in which the Arab cavalry were almost engulfed. This obstacle was overcome and Baisân opened its gates. It formed part of the *djund* of Jordan, created by the new masters of Syria. It was the native town of the Fakîh Radjâ' b. Haiwa (died about 112 A.H.) famous for his connection with the Omaiyads and his influence over 'Omar II. It was a flourishing town under the Arabs; it lies on the verge of a large, fertile plain which connects the plain of Esdrelon with the Ghawr [Jordan Valley]; the valley of the Jordan was, as it were, a hothouse in which were cultivated the most valuable products, indigo and sugar cane. To these Baisân owed its prosperity. Some authors place here the tomb of the celebrated Abû 'Obaida ibn al-Djarrâh, one of the conquerors of Syria. Its palm trees were famous—the Hadîth mentions them—and its wine also, which was exported as far as Hidjâz. Situated on the route of armies setting out from Damascus or from the Mediterranean coast, it suffered much during the Crusades; several battles were fought on the neighbouring plains. Taken by Godfrey de Bouillon, abandoned during the wars with Saladin, the Crusaders destroyed it in the reign of Baibars. It recovered with difficulty from this blow. Its state in the time of Yâkût was similar to that at the present day for he only counted two palm trees there. In the fifteenth century Makrîzî describes it as a little town. After falling to the level of a miserable village it recovered under the Egyptian occupation (nineteenth century). At the present day the property of the Sultân[136] with its beautiful gardens, abundantly supplied with water, the seat of a mudîr, it has about 3000 inhabitants and is in a fair way to increase in spite of the torrid heat and the unhealthiness of its climate. Baisân has benefited by the making of the railway from Haifâ to Dar'a.

"*Bibliography:* Bakrî (ed. Wüstenfeld), p. 188; Tabarî, I, 2157–2158; Tirmidhî, *Sahîh* (ed. Bûlâk), II, 41; Mobarrad, *Kâmil* (ed. Wright), p. 73; Akhtal, *Dîwân*, p. 3; Aghânî, II, 86, IX, 80; Mukaddasî (ed. de Goeje), pp. 162–163; Yâkût, I, 201, 788–789; Ibn al Djawzî, *Safwat al Safwa*, I, 20 (MSS. in the Khedival Library, Cairo). [By H. Lammens.]"

2. *Jacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. by F. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig, 1886, vol. i, pp. 788–789.

Some of the references to Beth-shan made by the above mentioned thirteenth century Arabic writer (under the name "Yâkût") have already been given in this book. The following résumé of other references is made from the above edition of his work: Yâkût states that quite a number of famous men originated from Beth-shan, among whom were Sârîya al-Baisânî, and 'Abd-ul-Wârith ibn al-Hasan ibn 'Omar al-Kurashî, known by the name of "The Interpreter of Beisân". The latter went to Damascus and attended lectures there, subsequently returning to Beth-shan to lecture on the "Traditions of the Prophet". From Beth-shan also came an excellent judge, Abû 'Alî 'Abd-ur-Rahîm, son of 'Alî al-Baisânî; he was the vizier of King an-Nâsir Yûsuf, son of Ayyûb, and had influence in the kingdom. He was famed for his eloquence. He died in Egypt in 1199–1200 A. D.

3. Other authorities mentioning Beth-shan are: E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, ii (ed. 1907), pp. 170–173; Guérin, *Samarie*, i, pp. 284–298; Robinson, *Palästina*, iii, 407–411, and *Neuere Biblische Forschungen*, pp. 429–437; P. Thomsen, *Loca Sancta*, p. 106 f.; Hölscher, *Palästina in der persischen und hellenistischen Zeit*, pp, 43–46; Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 174 f.; Büchler, *Der Patriarch R. Jehuda und die griechisch römischen Städte Palästinas*, in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, xiii, 1901, pp. 683–740; M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, ii, 2, 1906, pp. 191–197 (reference to the name Beisâni on tombstones);

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[136] This account was written before the Great War.

Eckhel, *Doctr, Num. Vet.*, iii, pp. 438–440, and *Musei Sanclementiani Numismata selecta*, pars ii, lib. iv, pp. 277–279.

4. P. Thomsen, *Die Palästina Literatur*, vols. I–IV, gives the following references to other works on Beth-shan:

A. GENERAL INFORMATION: George Beer, Scythopolis, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzyklopædie*, II (1923), col. 947 f.; L. Grünhut, *Beth-Shean, was it once a Jewish Town?* in *Magyar Zsidó Szemle*, 25 (1908), p. 168 f. (in Hungarian); Johannes Phokylides, *Scythopolis, a topographical and historical sketch*, 13 (1913), pp. 217–240, 337–343 (in Greek).

B. NOTES OF SCIENTIFIC TRAVELLERS: Theodor Schlatter, *Im Gebiet der Zehnstädte, Palästina Jahrbuch*, 14 (1918), pp. 90–110.

C. EXCAVATIONS: René Dussaud, *Les Fouilles en Palestine, Syria*, 5 (1924), p. 78; Hermann Guthe, *Amerikanische Ausgrabungen in Palästina, Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins*, 46 (1923), pp. 220–223; M. I, *Excavations in Palestine, Nea Sion*, Jerusalem, 18 (1923), pp. 694–696 (in Greek); Alexis Mallon, *Chronique Palestinienne, Biblica*, 2 (1921), p. 509 f., also 3 (1922), p. 269 f., and 4 (1923), pp. 236–240; Alexandre Moret, article in *Journal Asiatique*, 205 (1924), p. 178 f.; Ernst Schmitz, article in *Das Heilige Land*, 66 (1922), pp. 108–110; *Neue Ausgrabungen in Syrien, Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung*, 24 (1921), col. 279; John Garstang, article in *Bulletin of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem*, I (1922), pp., 8,17 f., 34, 77.

D. OBJECTS FOUND AT BETH-SHAN BEFORE EXCAVATIONS COMMENCED: Richard Gottheil, *Notices sur les amulettes judéo-araméennes, Journal Asiatique*, 9 (1907), pp. 150–152 (an amulet with Greek inscription); Edward Rogers, *Three Rare Seleucid Coins* (coined at Scythopolis), in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1919, pp. 17–34—cf. *The American Journal of Archæology*, 24 (1920), p. 175; Blumer F. Imhoof, *Nymphen und Chariten auf griech Münzen, Journal internat. d'archéologie numismatique*, 11 (1908), pp. 1–23; L. H. Vincent, *Glanures archéologiques, Revue Biblique*, 6 (1909), pp. 445–448 (pottery figurine); L. H. Vincent, *Le pillage des tombes dans la vallée du Jourdain, Revue Biblique*, 7 (1910), p. 576 (pottery lamp with Greek inscription); L. H. Vincent, *Varia, Revue Biblique*, 2 (1905), pp. 98–100 (plaque of terra cotta).

E. INSCRIPTIONS: F. M. Abel, *Inscription de Beisan, Revue Biblique*, 8 (1911), p. 289 f., 440—cf. J. Germer-Durand, *Échos d'Orient*, 14 (1911), p. 207 f., and 5 (1901), p. 75; F. M. Abel, *Deux inscriptions Latines militaires, Revue Biblique*, 33 (1924), pp. 111–114; Noël Aimé-Giron, *Notes Épigraphiques, Journal Asiatique*, 19 (1922), p. 63 f.; F. Bleckmann, *Bericht ueb. Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik für 1910–1912, Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins*, 36 (1913), pp. 219–240 (a Byzantine inscription); Ernst Sellin, *Ein neuer römischer Meilenstein in Palästina, Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina Vereins*, 1905, pp. 37–40 (milestone with distance calculated from Scythopolis).

F. SAINTS OF BETH-SHAN: Paul Kahle, *Das Wesen der moslemischen Heiligtümer in Palästina, Palästina Jahrbuch*, 7 (1911), pp. 85–119 (on Sheikh el-Halabi[137]); Kleopas M. Koikylides, *The Life of Cyrill of Scythopolis*, Jerusalem, 1906, 32 pp. (in Greek); H. Mertel, *Die biographische Form der griechischen Heiligenleben*, München, 1909, 100 pp. (biographies of various saints, including Cyrill of Scythopolis); E. Michelsen, *Zur Enstehung und Geschichte des Lichtmessfestes, Festgabe für Richard Haupt*, Kiel, 1922, pp. 149–196; Johannes Phokylides, *Cyrill of Scythopolis, Ekklesiastikos Pharos*, Alexandria, 17 (1918), pp. 325–341 (in Greek); R. Aigrain, *Saint Aphrodise, martyr à Scythopolis*, in Baudrillart, *Dict.* 3 (1924), col. 940; D. A. Ménager, *La patrie de Cassien, Echos d'Orient*, 20 (1921), pp. 330–358 (Cassianus natione Scytha, probably from Scythopolis).

5. Père L. Hennequin, *Revue Apologétique*, June, 1929, and *Revue Ecclésiastique de Metz*, June, 1929, gives the following bibliography to recent articles on Beth-shan: Père Barrois, *Dict. de la Bible, Supplé-*

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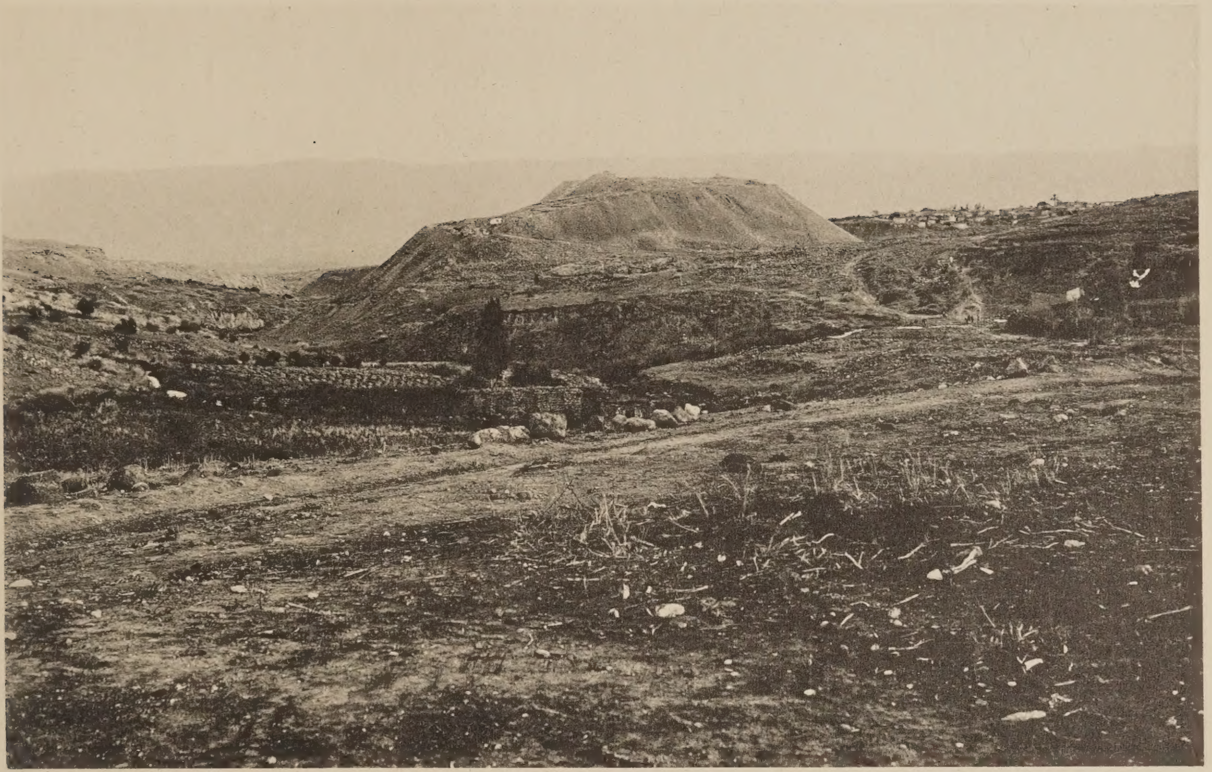
[137] His tomb is shown in *The Museum Journal*, March, 1929, where also will be found some interesting details of modern sacrifices of small animals made upon a column just outside the tomb.

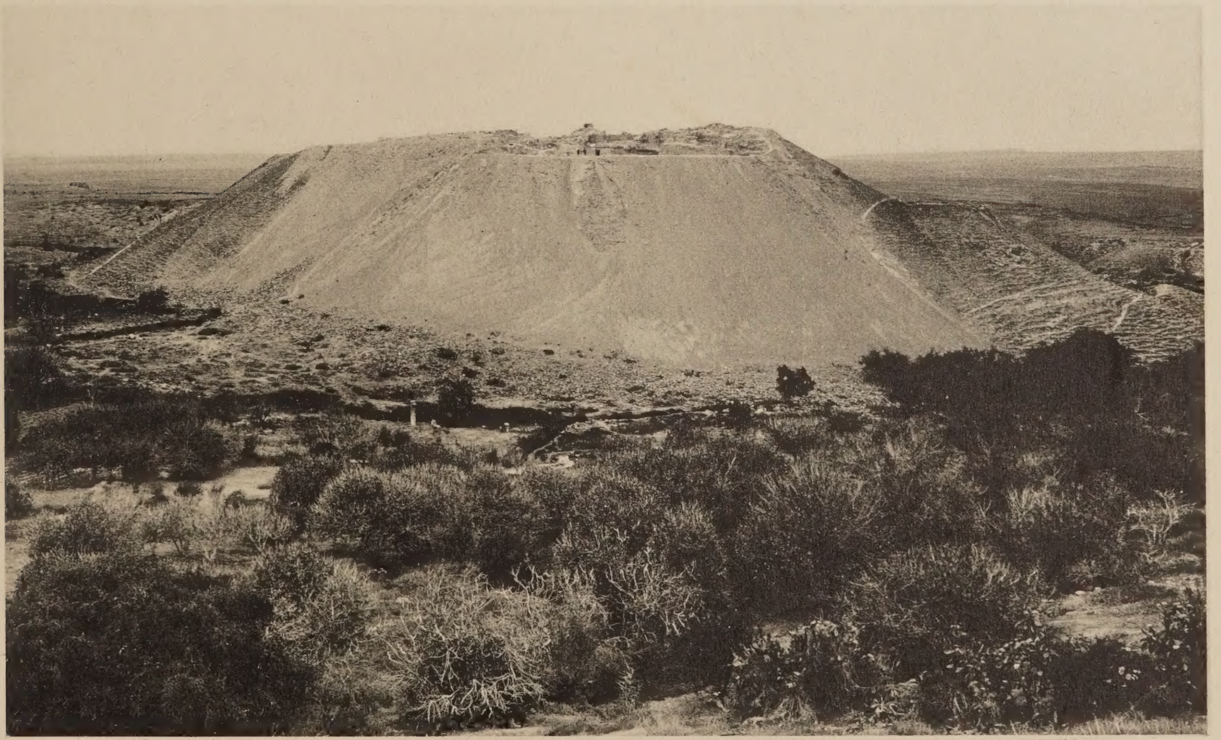
*ment,* articles on *Canaan* and *Beisan;* Père Abel, *Revue Biblique,* 1912; Père Vincent, *op. cit.*, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1926, 1928; Père Dhorme, *op. cit.*, 1927; Père Barrois, *op. cit.*, 1929; Père Mallon, *Biblica* (Rome), 1922, 1923, 1926, 1928, 1929; Père Mallon, *Verbum Domini* (Rome), 1925; Père Semkowski, *op. cit.*, 1927.

6. *The Museum Journal.* Complete references to Beth-shan in *The Museum Journal* are as follows: March, 1922, pp. 32–45, 87; September, 1922, p. 239; December, 1922, pp. 401, 402; March, 1923, pp. 5–8; December, 1923, pp. 227–248, 313; June, 1924, pp. 101–105; September, 1924, pp. 171–189; December, 1924, p. 311; September, 1925, pp. 200, 201, 206; December, 1925, pp. 307–313; June, 1926, pp. 220, 221; September, 1926, pp. 295–304; December, 1926, p. 436; March, 1927, pp. 9–45; December, 1927, pp. 411–441; June, 1928, pp. 145–169; March, 1929, pp. 37–98, 101, 105; and June, 1929, p. 203.

# PLATES



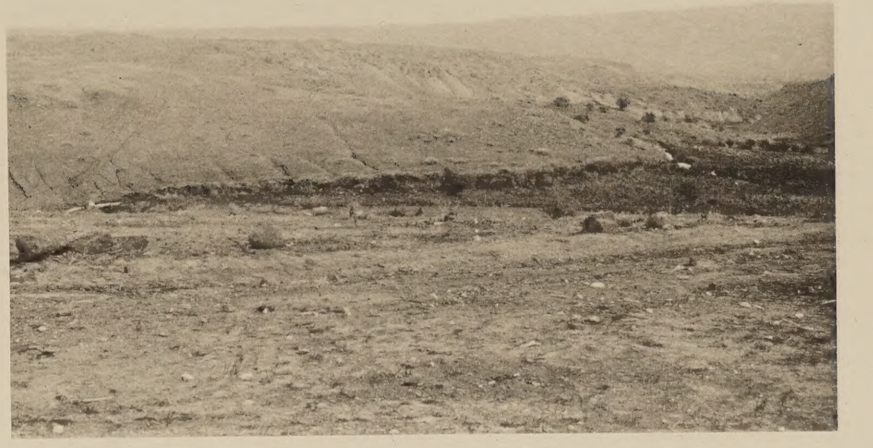
1. Tell el-Hosn, Beth-shan. On the left-hand side are the great northern cemetery and the valley of the River Jâlûd. In the background are the mountains of Gilead. Looking East.



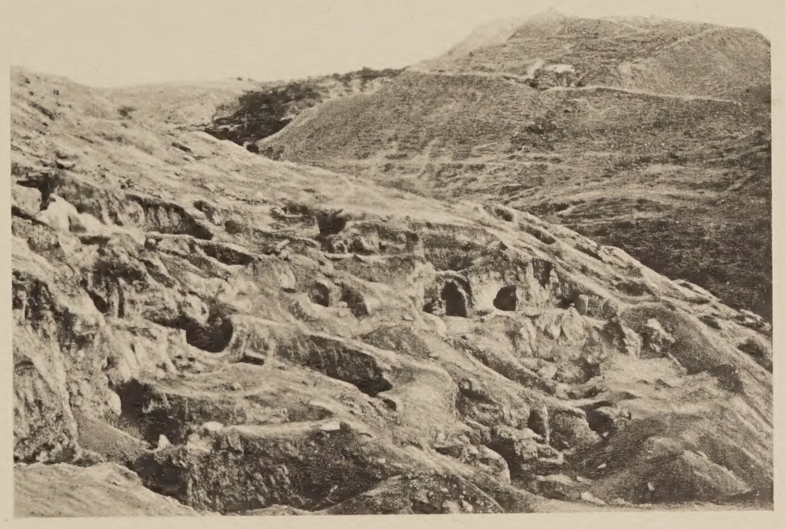
2. Tell el-Hosn, Beth-shan. View of the south side of the tell showing the great cutting. Looking North.

1. General view of the area to the soutwest of the tell showing the village of Beisân and the mountains of Gilead in the background. The South side of the tell is on the left. Looking Southeast.

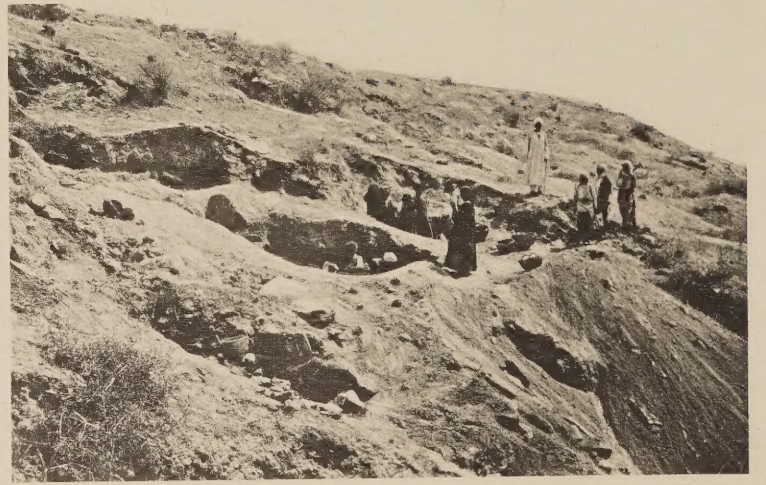
2. The mountains of Gilboa, upon which Saul of Israel died. Looking south from near the expedition's house.



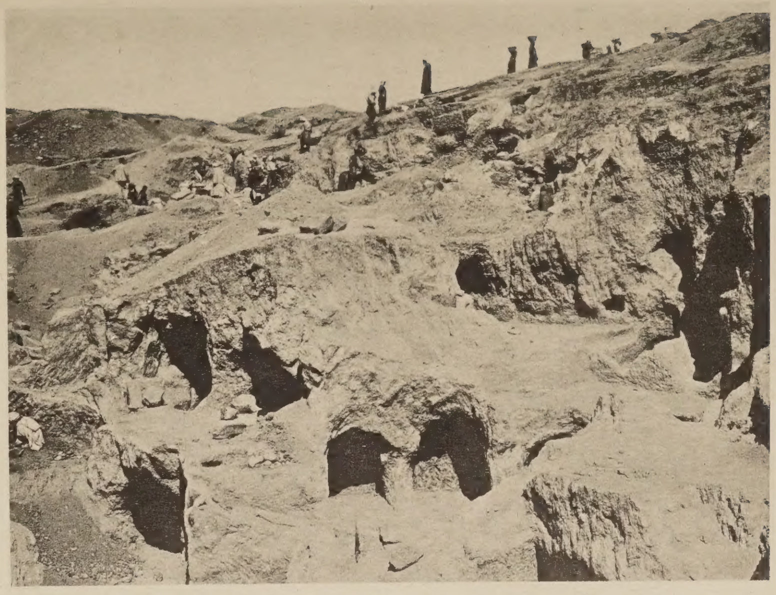
1. The great northern cemetery of Beth-Shan. The northern base of the tell is visible on the right. Looking Northeast.



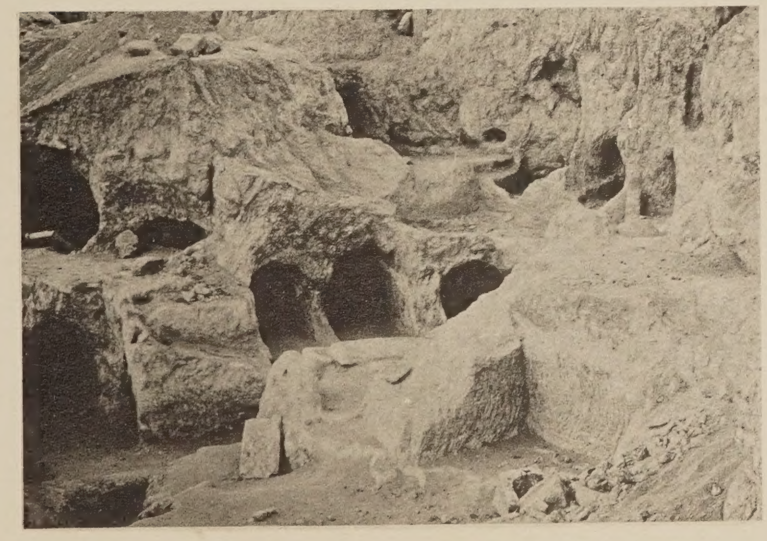
2. General view of the great northern cemetery and Tell el-Hosn, with the Jâlûd valley between. 1926 excavations. Looking Southeast.



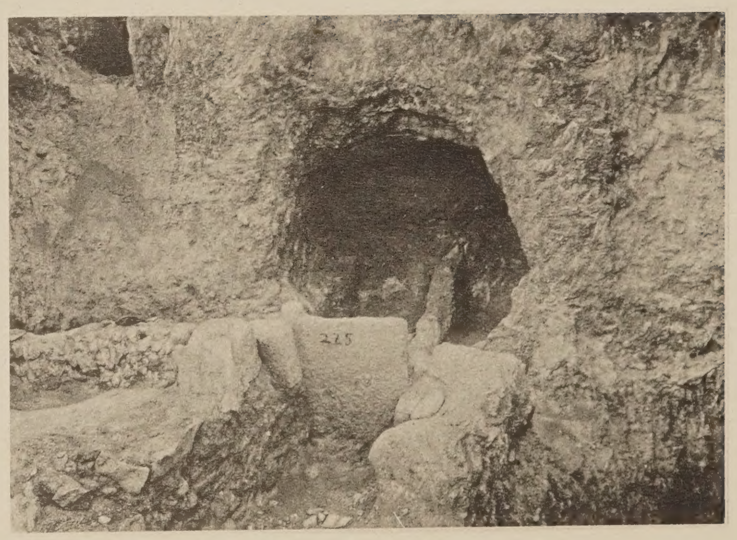
3 Eastern limits of the 1926 excavations in the great northern cemetery. Looking Northeast.



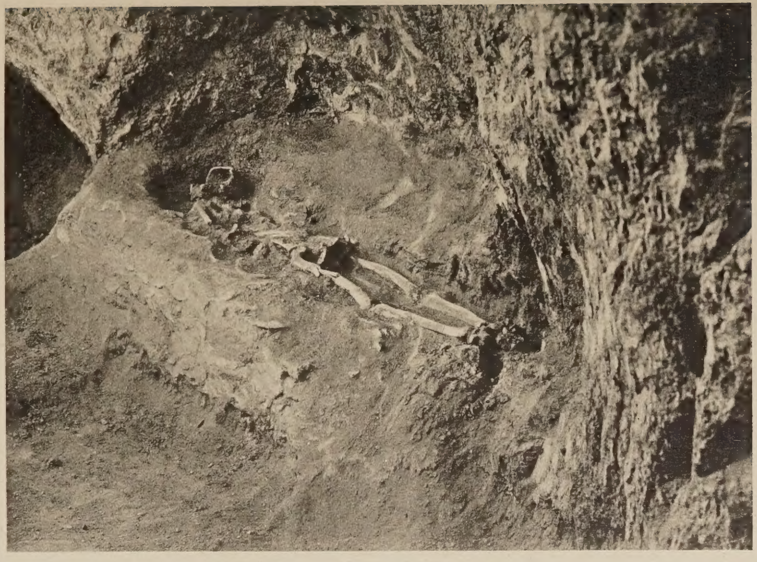
1. Tombs of various periods excavated in the Great Northern Cemetery during the 1926 season. Looking Northwest



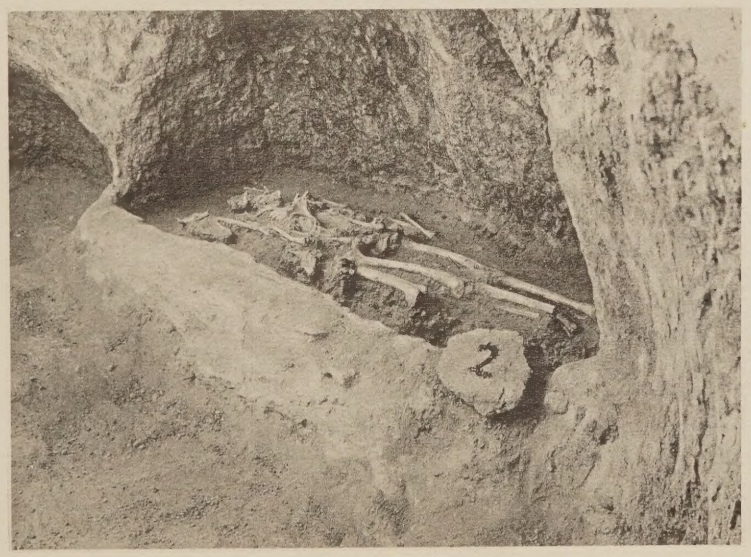
2. Tombs of various periods excavated in the Great Northern Cemetery. The tombs shown here are those seen in the foreground of No. 1. Looking Northwest.



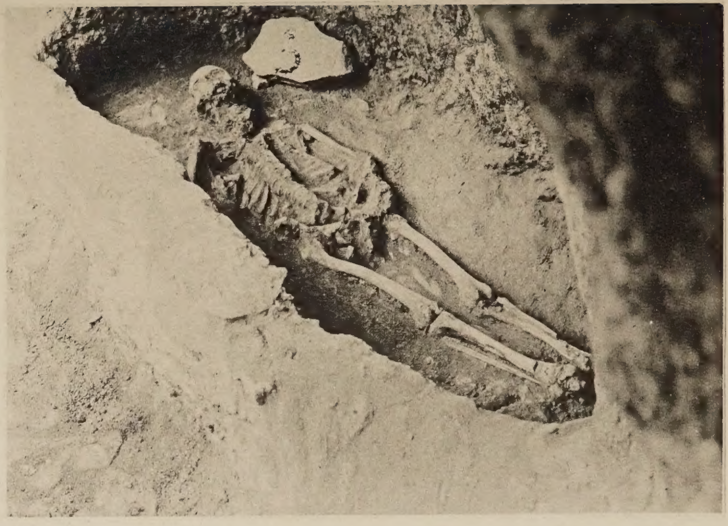
3. View of a Byzantine tomb (No. 225) in the Great Northern Cemetery. Looking North.



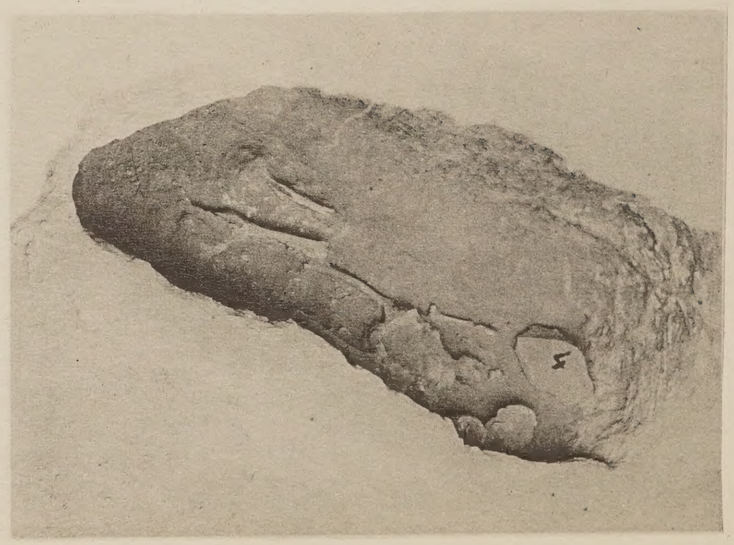
1. Byzantine tomb no. 226 in the Great Northern Cemetery. Grave with four layers of bodies. Uppermost layer. Looking Northwest.



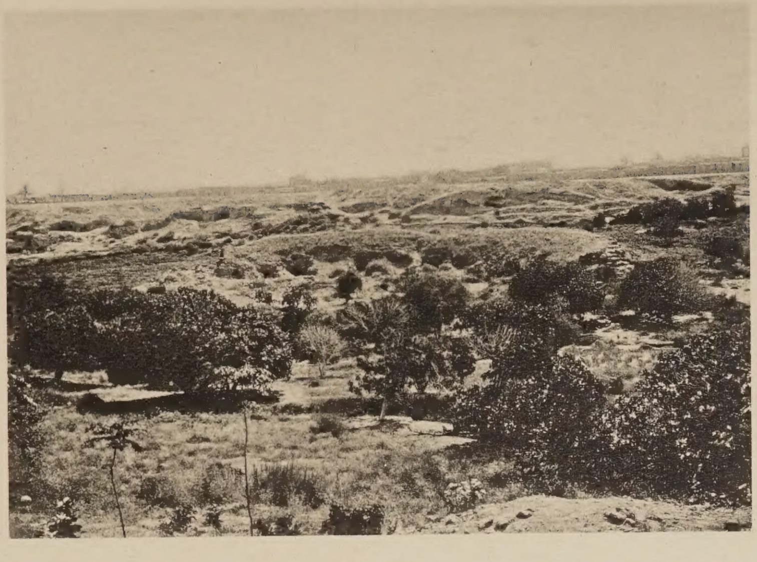
2. Byzantine tomb no. 226. Second layer in the grave.



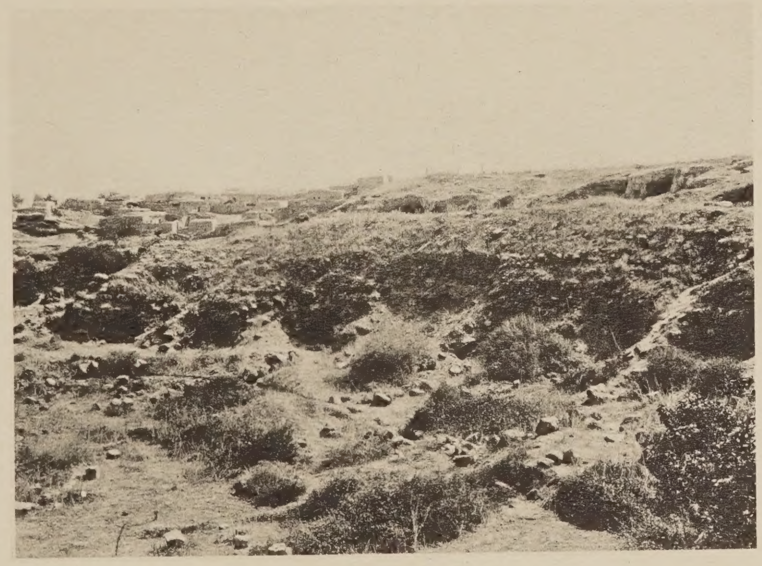
3. Byzantine tomb no. 226. Third layer in the grave.



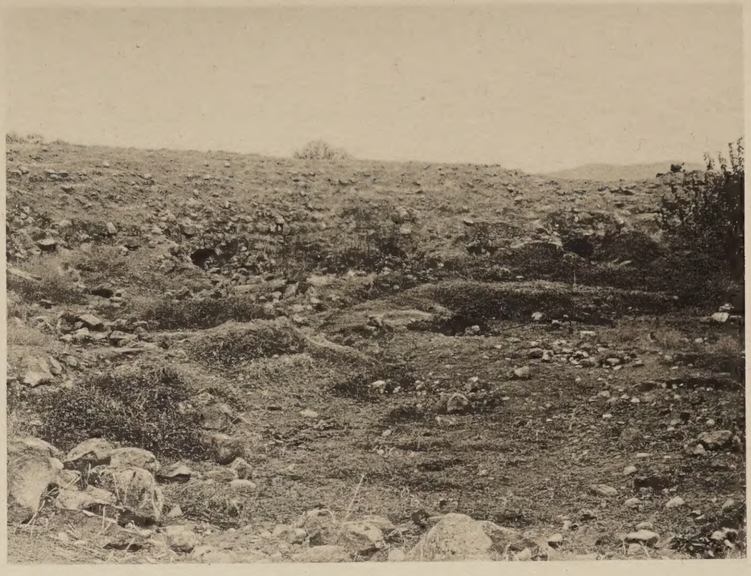
4. Byzantine tomb no. 226. Fourth (and lowest) layer in the grave.



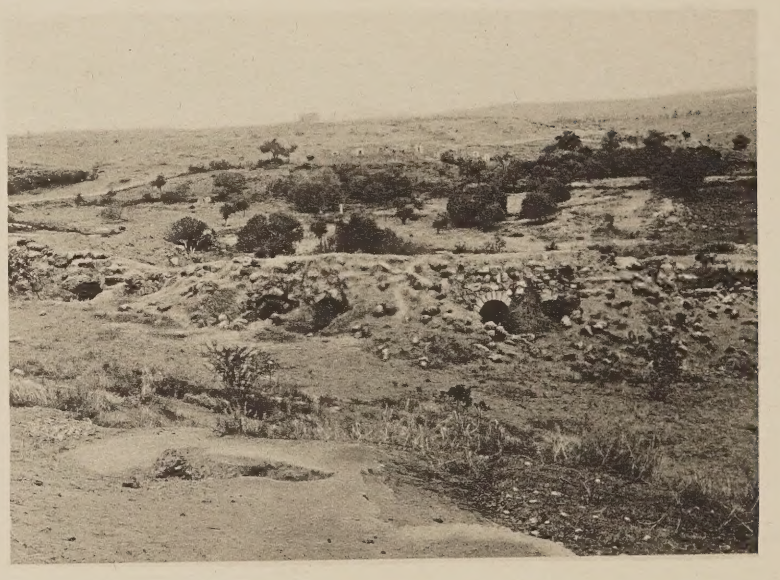
1. The Roman theatre at Beth-shan. Interior view. Looking Southeast.



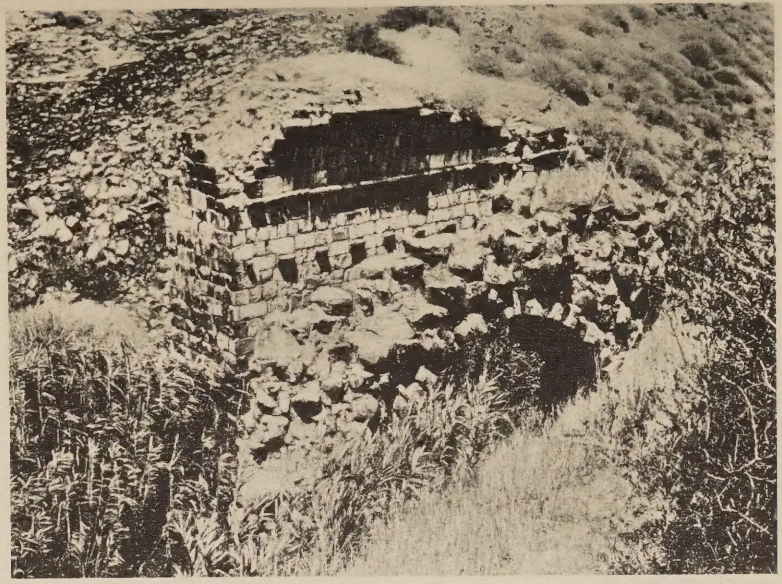
2. Eastern interior of the Roman theatre, showing vomitories. Looking Southeast.



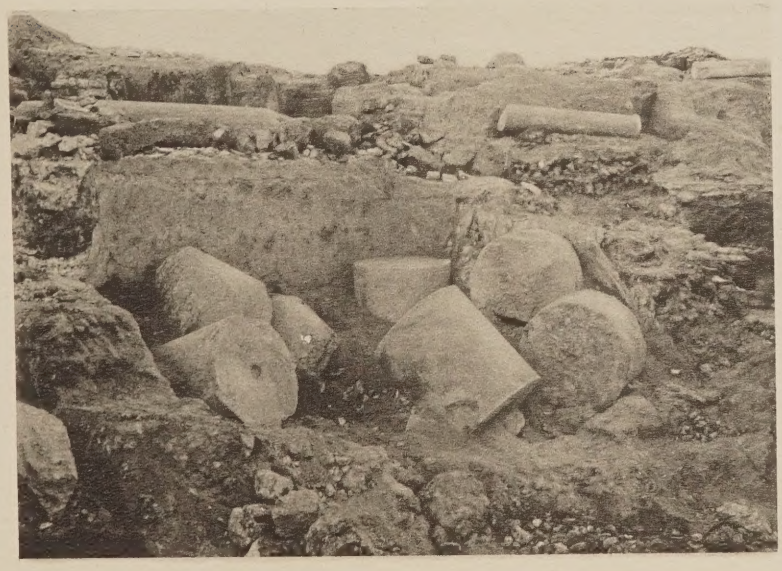
3. Western interior of the Roman theatre. Looking West.



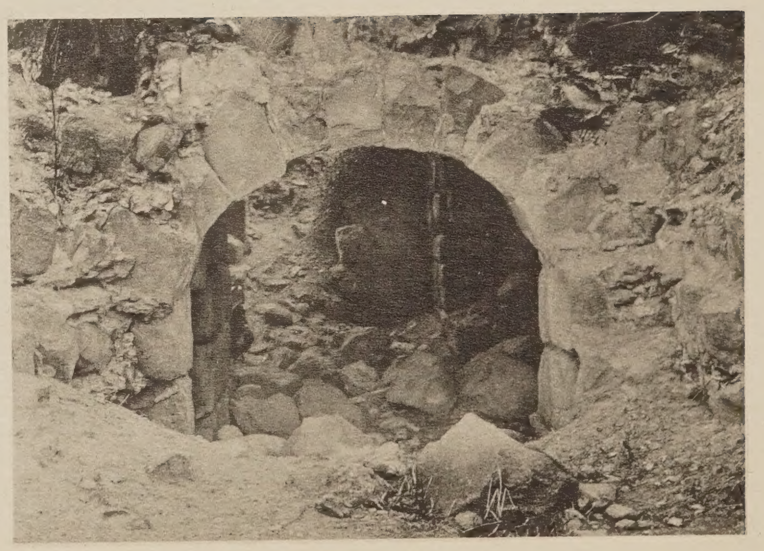
4. Eastern exterior of the Roman theatre. Looking West.



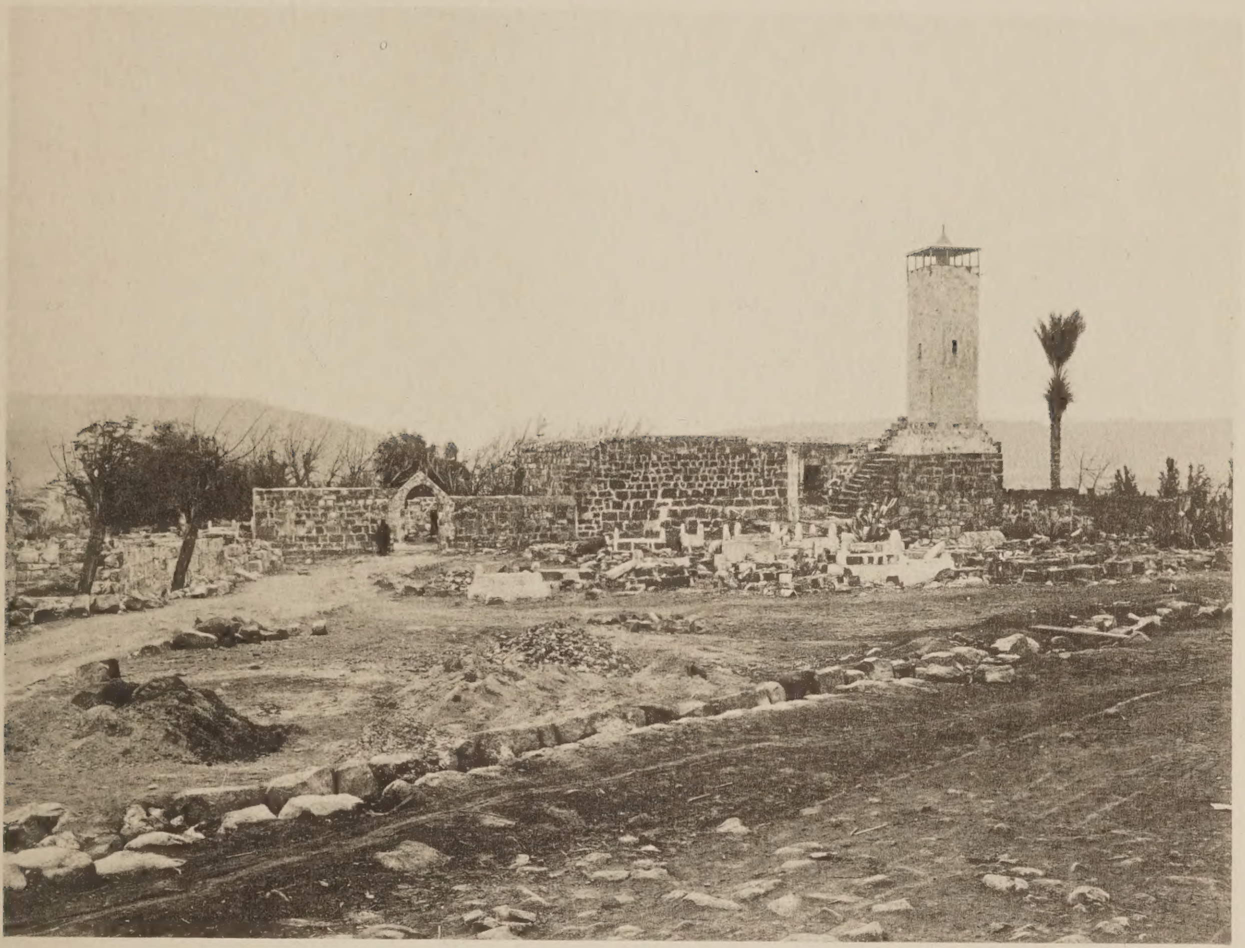
1. Vaulted Roman arch carrying the city wall over the River Jâlûd. Looking Northwest.



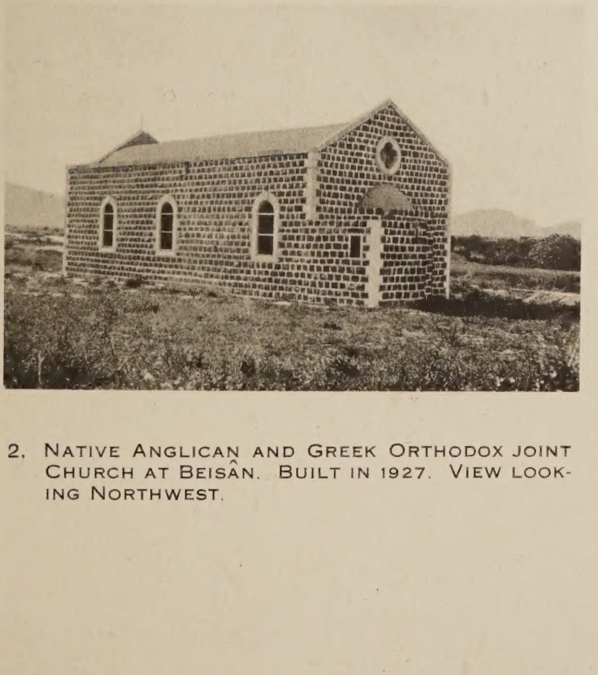
2. Tell el-Hosn, No II City-level. Byzantine reservoir: and stone drums from the Hellenistic temple. The columns above came from the Byzantine church. Looking Northeast.



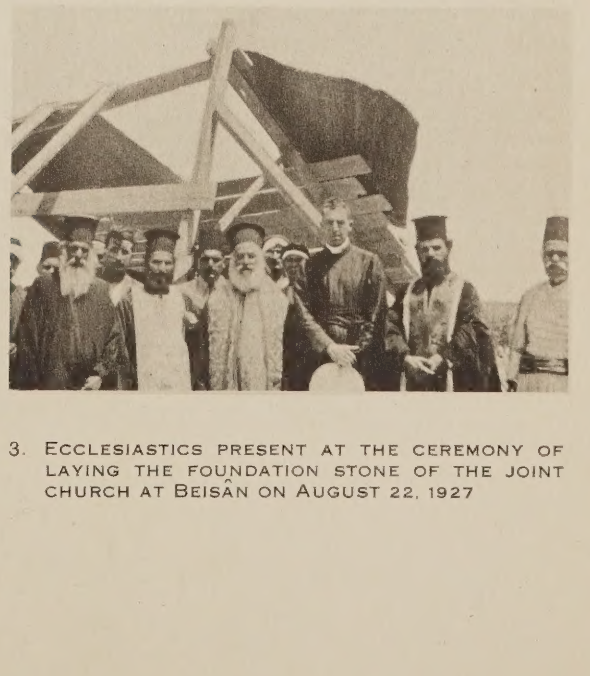
3. Inside entrance of a vomitory of the Roman theatre shown in Plate 7.



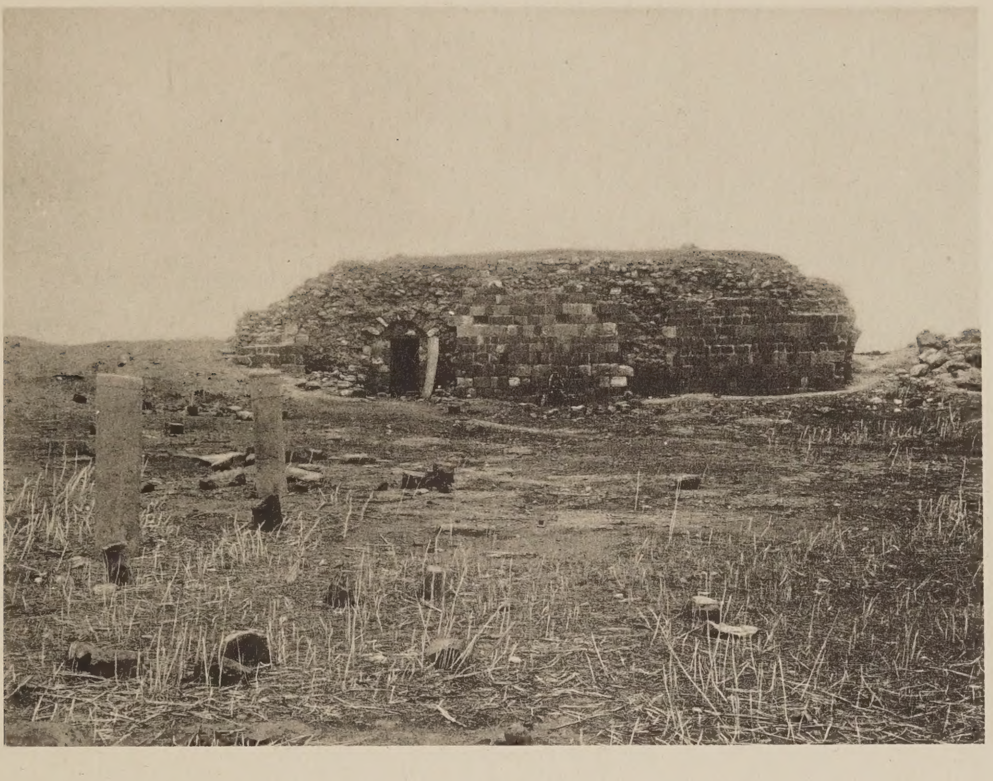
1. The "Mosque of the Forty Warriors" at Beisân. Looking Northeast.



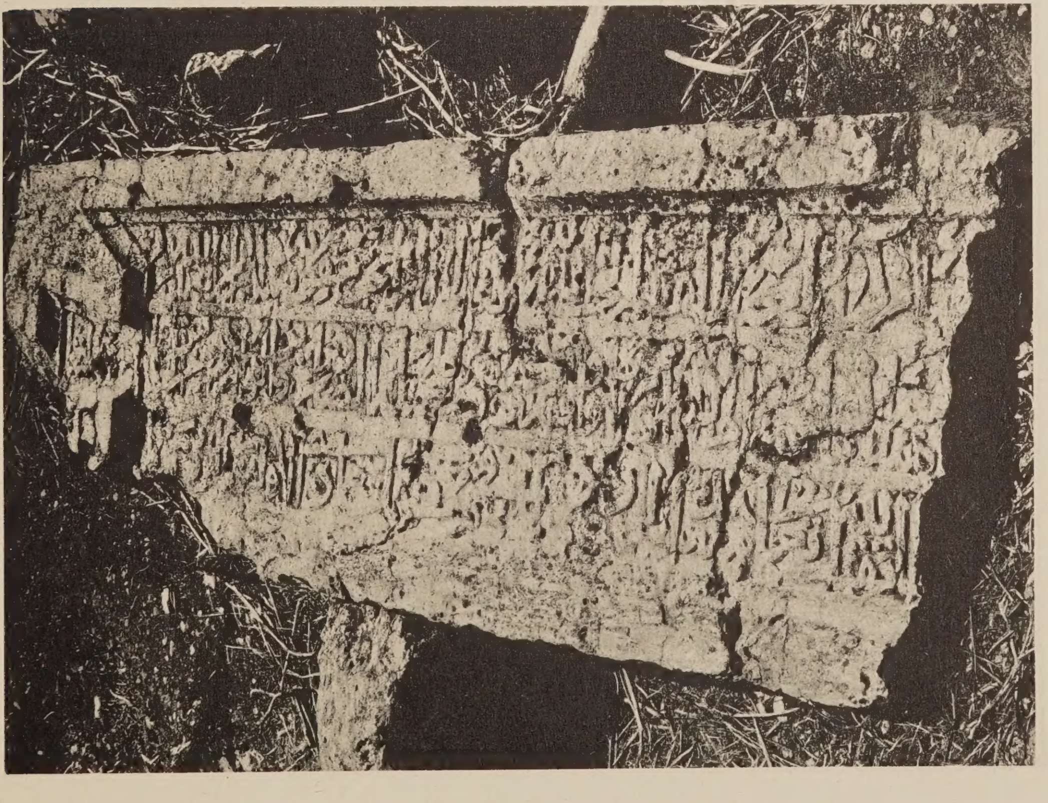
2, Native Anglican and Greek Orthodox joint Church at Beisân. Built in 1927. View looking Northwest.



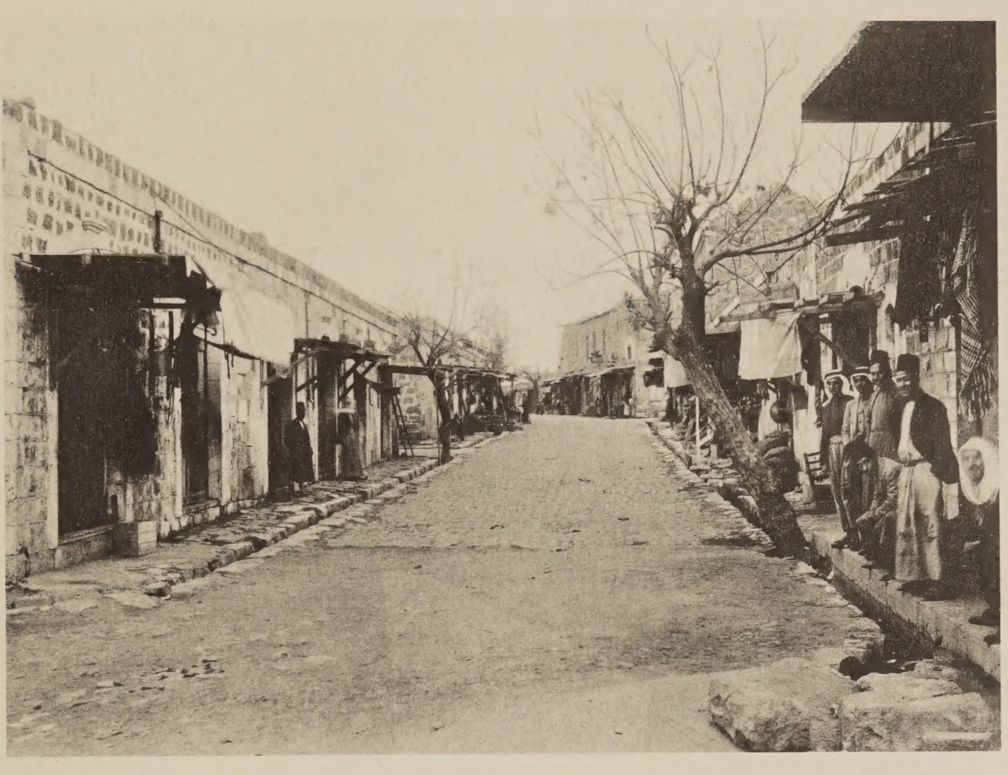
3. Ecclesiastics present at the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the joint church at Beisân on August 22, 1927



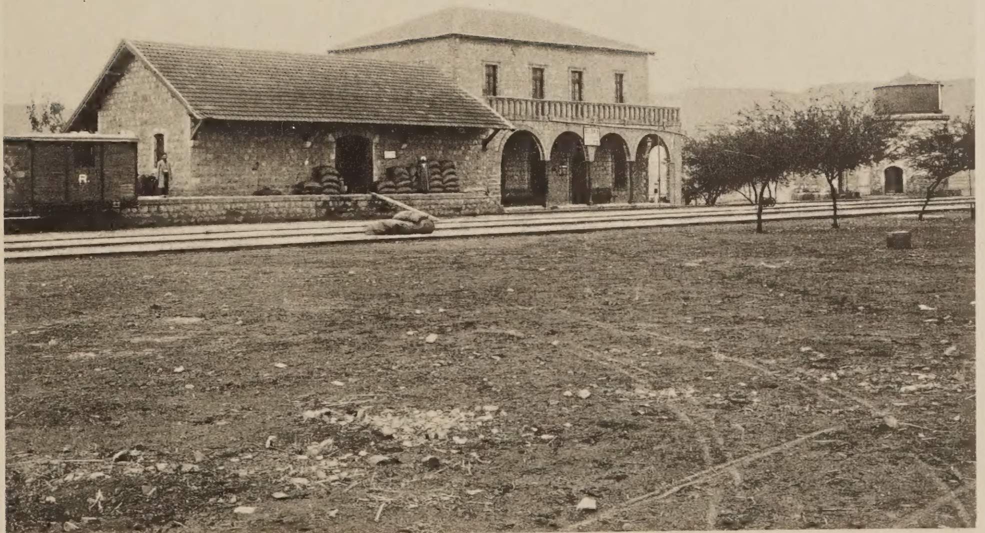
1. The Khân el-'Ahmar, or "Red Caravanserai", at Beisân. Inside view, looking East.



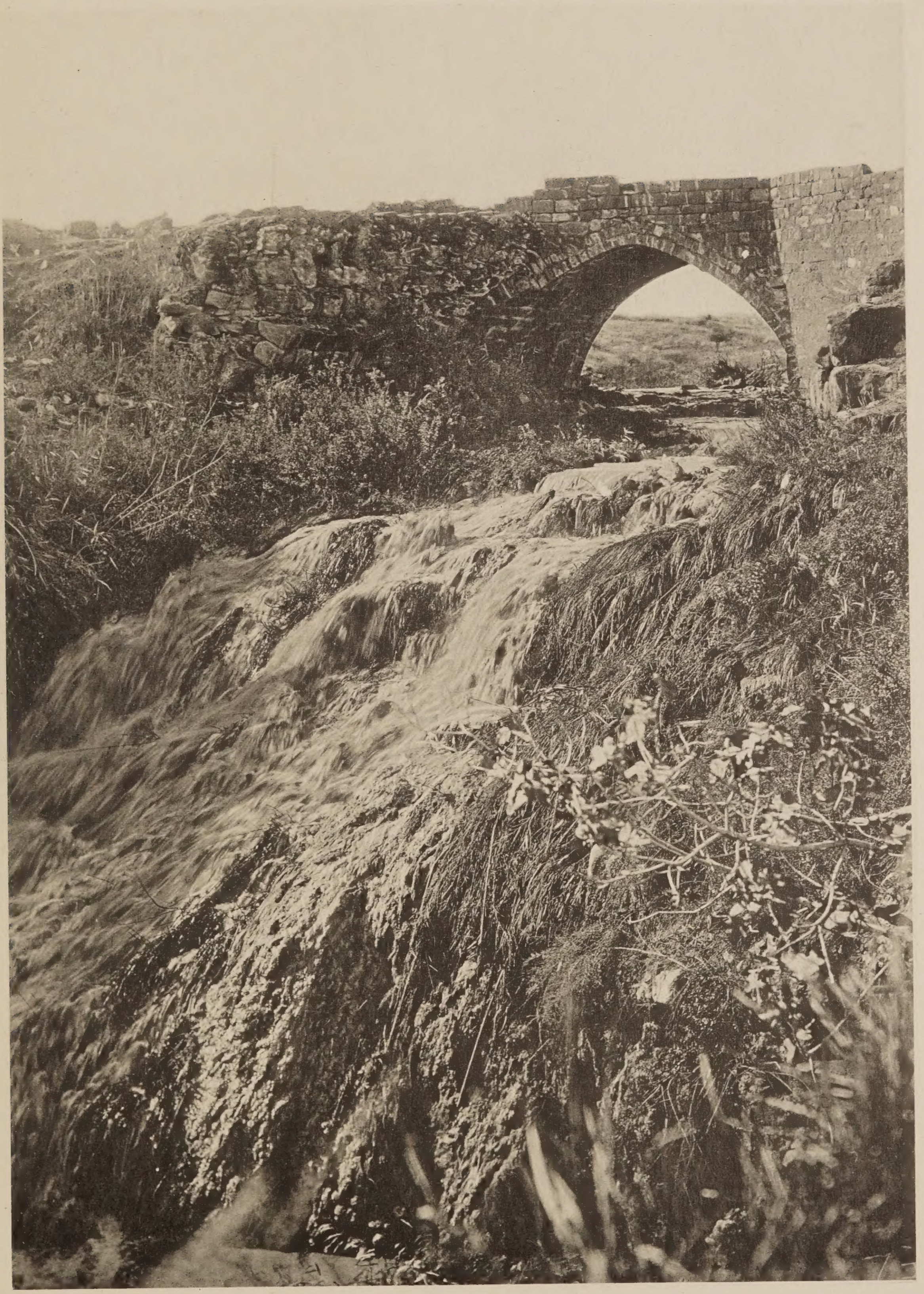
2. Arabic inscription from the outer gate of the Khân el-'Ahmar.



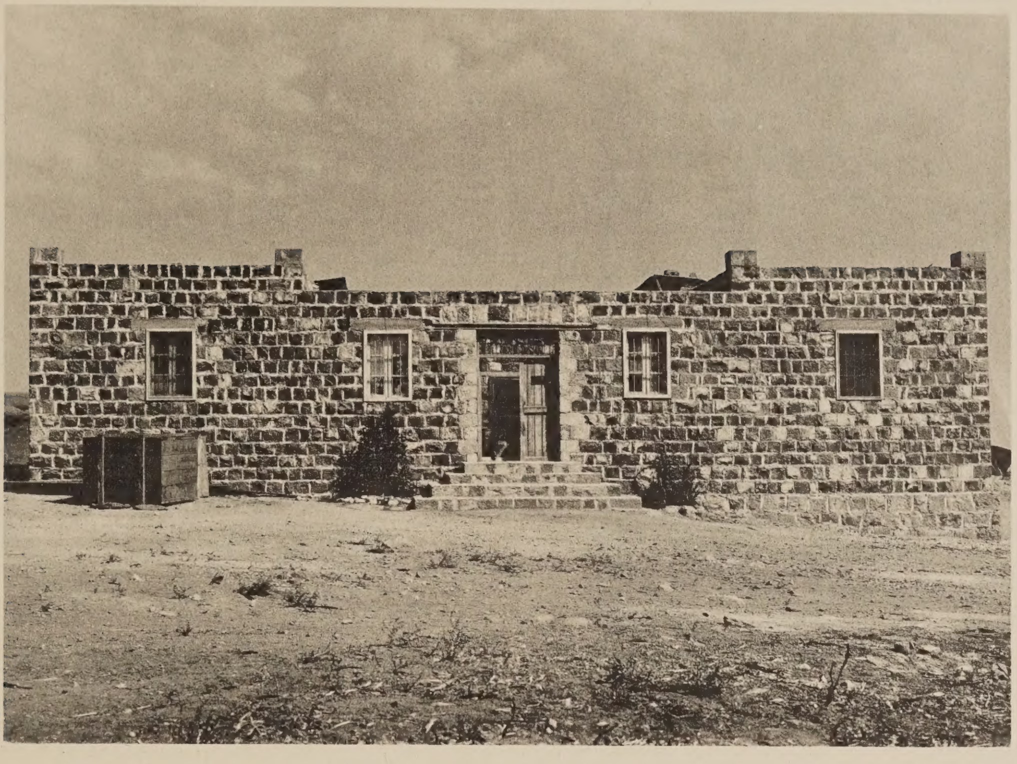
1. THE MAIN STREET OF BEISÂN. LOOKING SOUTH



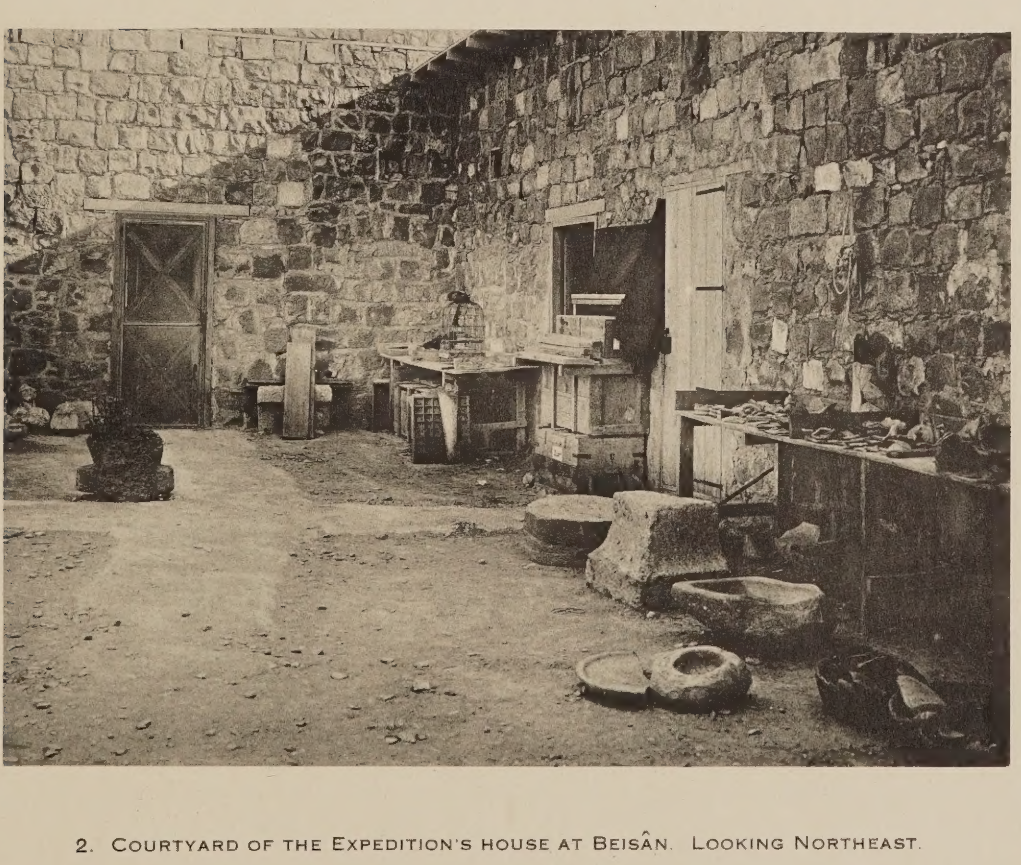
2. THE RAILWAY STATION OF BEISÂN. LOOKING SOUTHWEST.



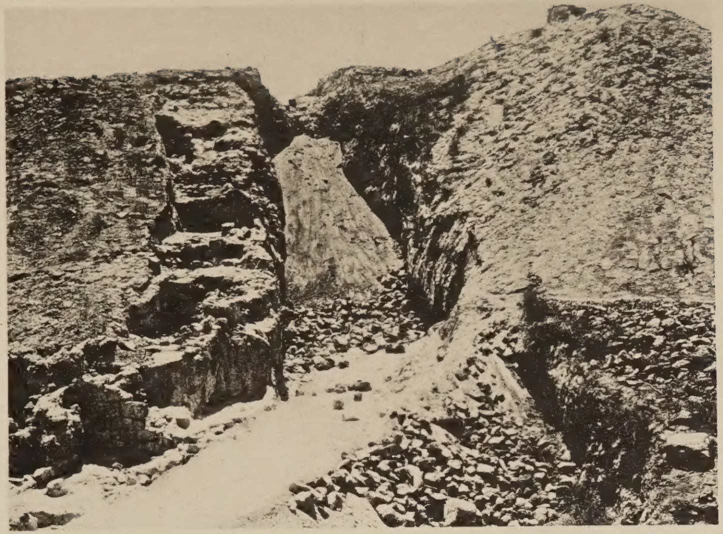
THE RIVER JÂLÛD AND THE ARABIC BRIDGE, JUST BELOW THE EXPEDITION'S HOUSE AT BEISÂN. LOOKING SOUTHWEST.



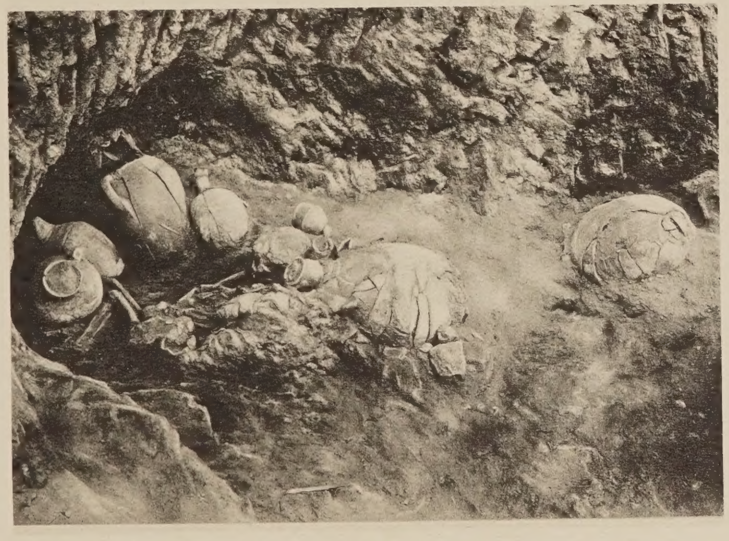
1. Front view of the Expedition's house at Beisân. Looking North.



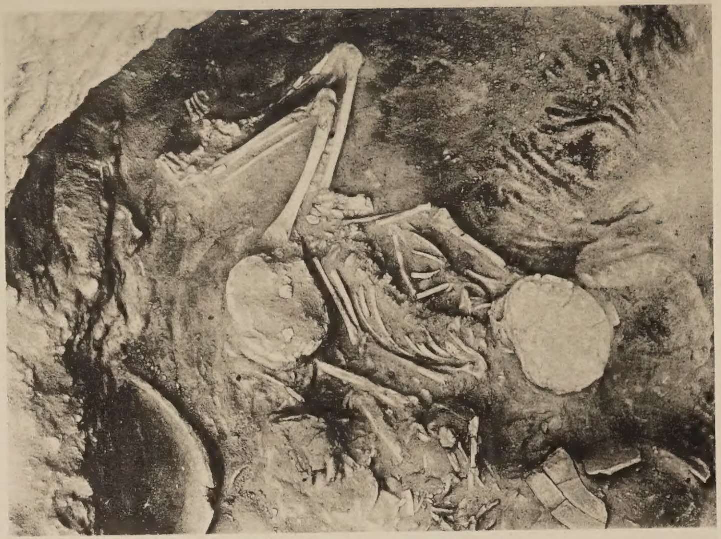
2. Courtyard of the Expedition's house at Beisân. Looking Northeast.



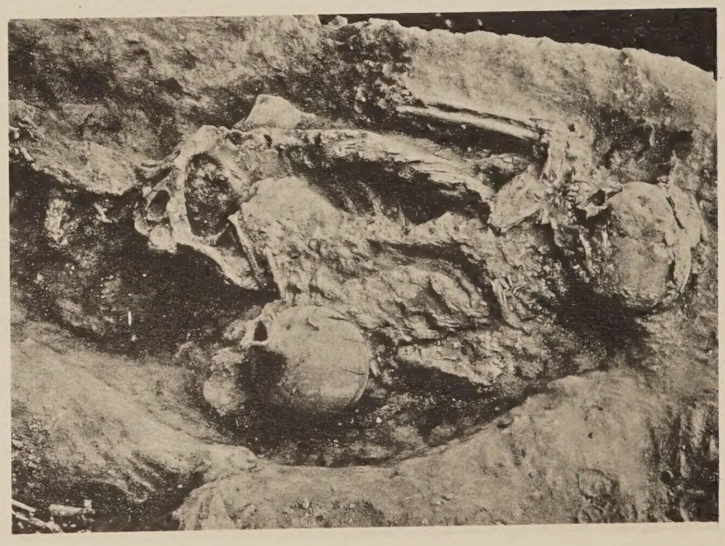
1. Tell el-Hosn. View of the trial trench made in the North side of the tell in 1921. Looking South.



2 Burial No. 1 in the bottom of the trial trench in the tell The skeleton (head to Northwest) with the pottery, as found *in situ.* Beginning of Middle Canaanite Period (2000-1600 B. C.)

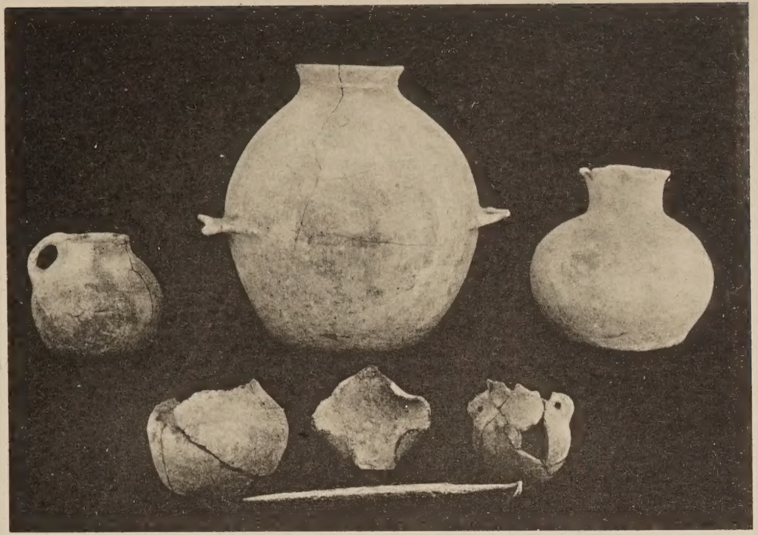


3 View of the burial shown in No. 2, with most of the pottery removed.



4. Burial No. 2 in the bottom of the trial trench. The Skeleton (head to Northwest) with pottery, as found *in situ.* Beginning of Middle Canaanite Period.

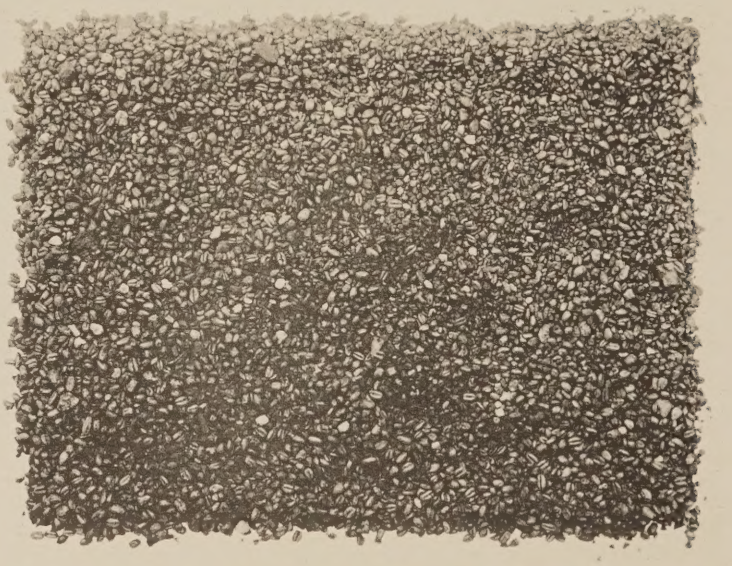
PLATE 15



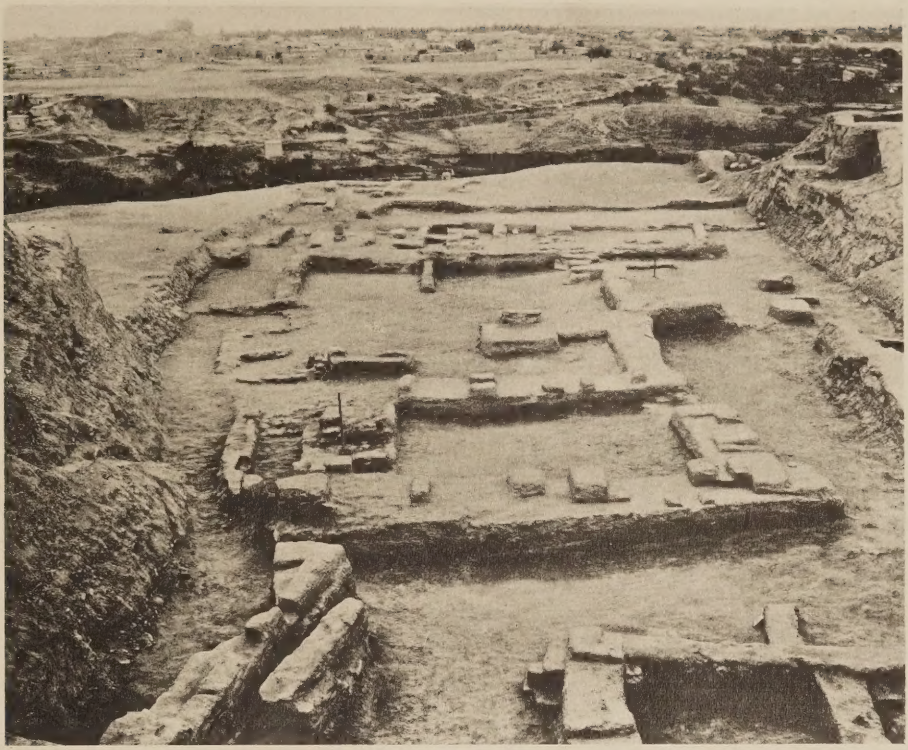
1. Group of objects, found in a grave of the beginning of the Middle Canaanite Period in the great northern cemetery.

2. Fragment of palm tree. Thothmes III level.

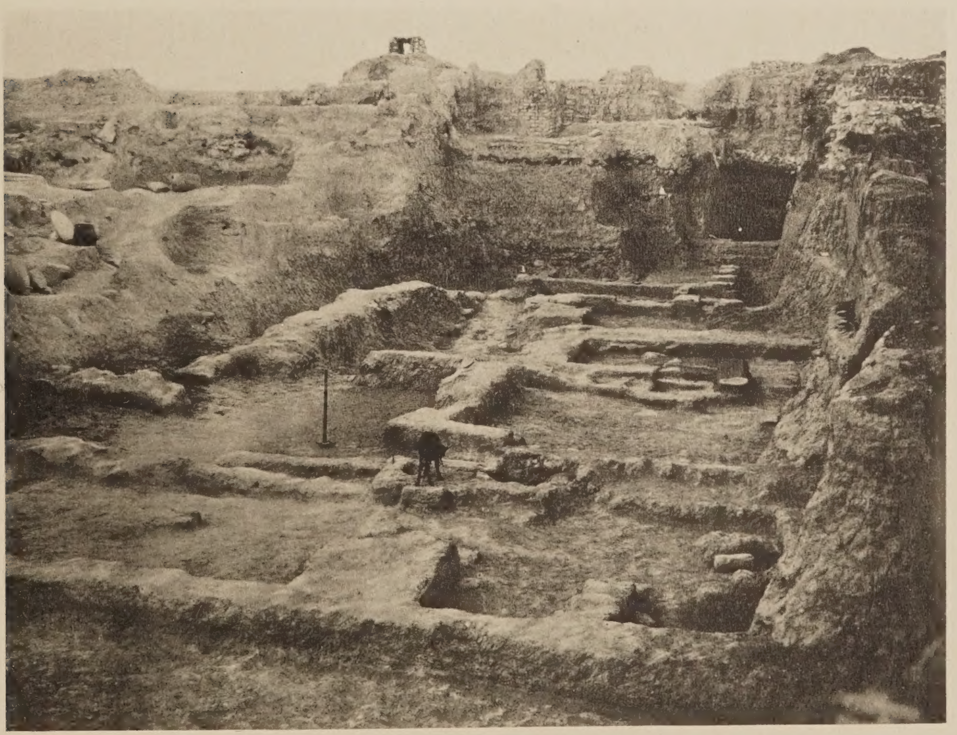
3. Sesame seed. Early Seti level.



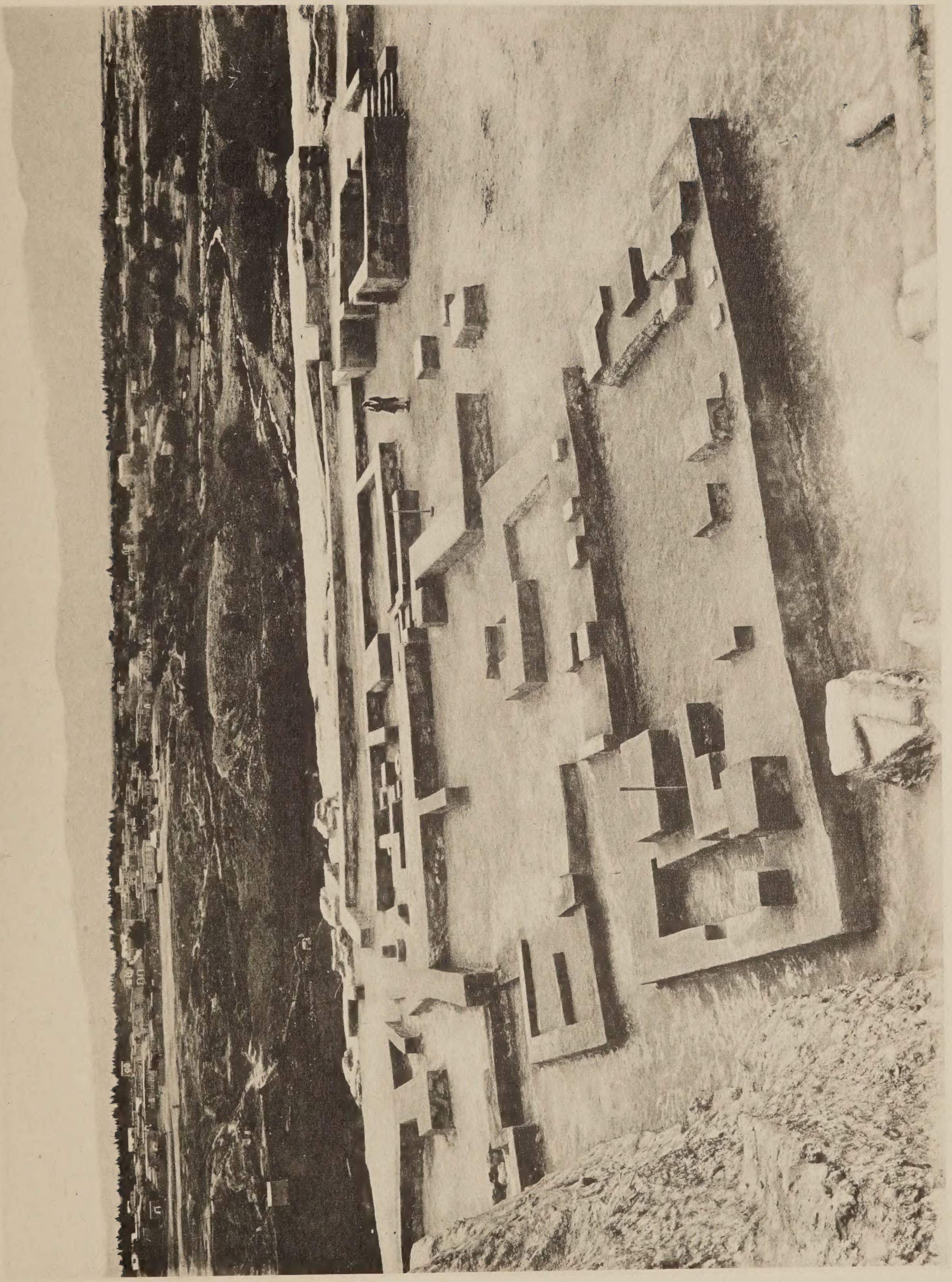
4. Quantity of corn. Early Seti level.



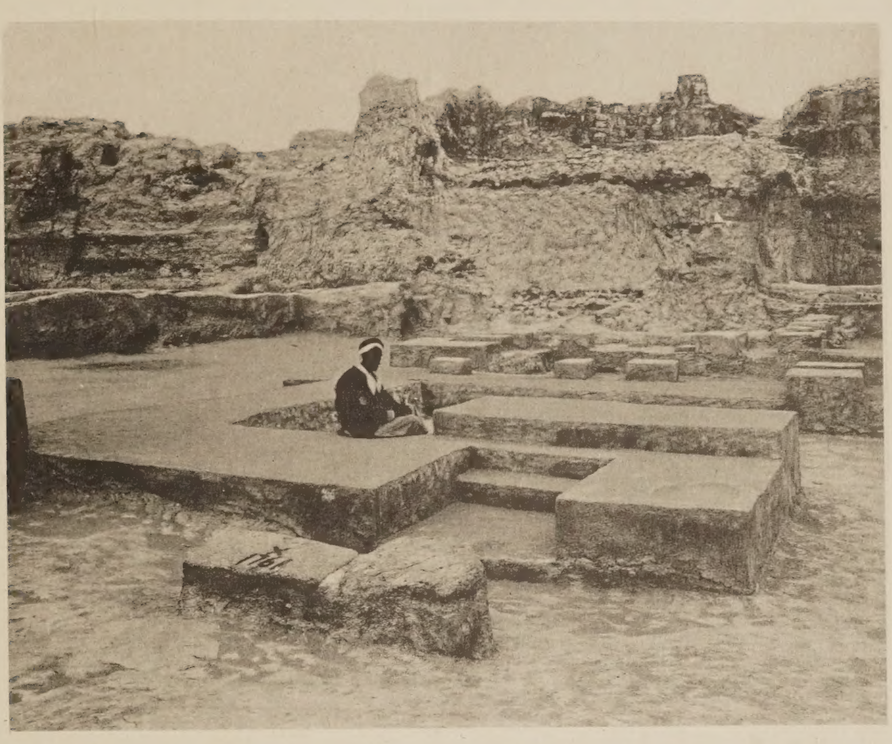
1. Tell el-Hosn, No. IX City-level. General view of the Mekal temple of Thothmes III as it appeared in the 1927 season. Cf. Pl. 57. Looking South



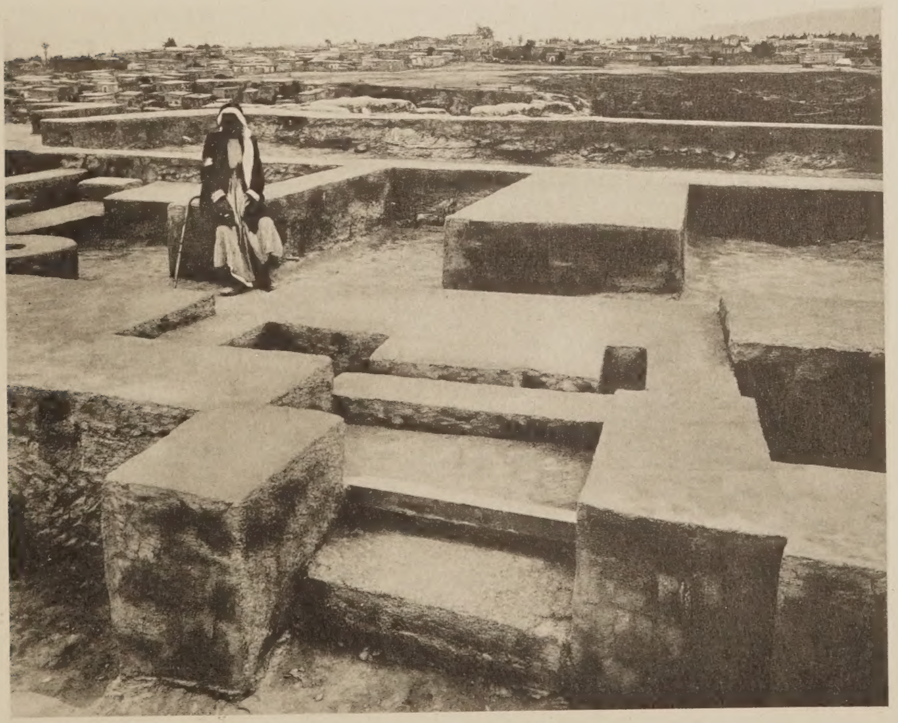
2. General view of the Mekal temple of Thothmes III as it appeared in the 1927 season. Looking Northwest.



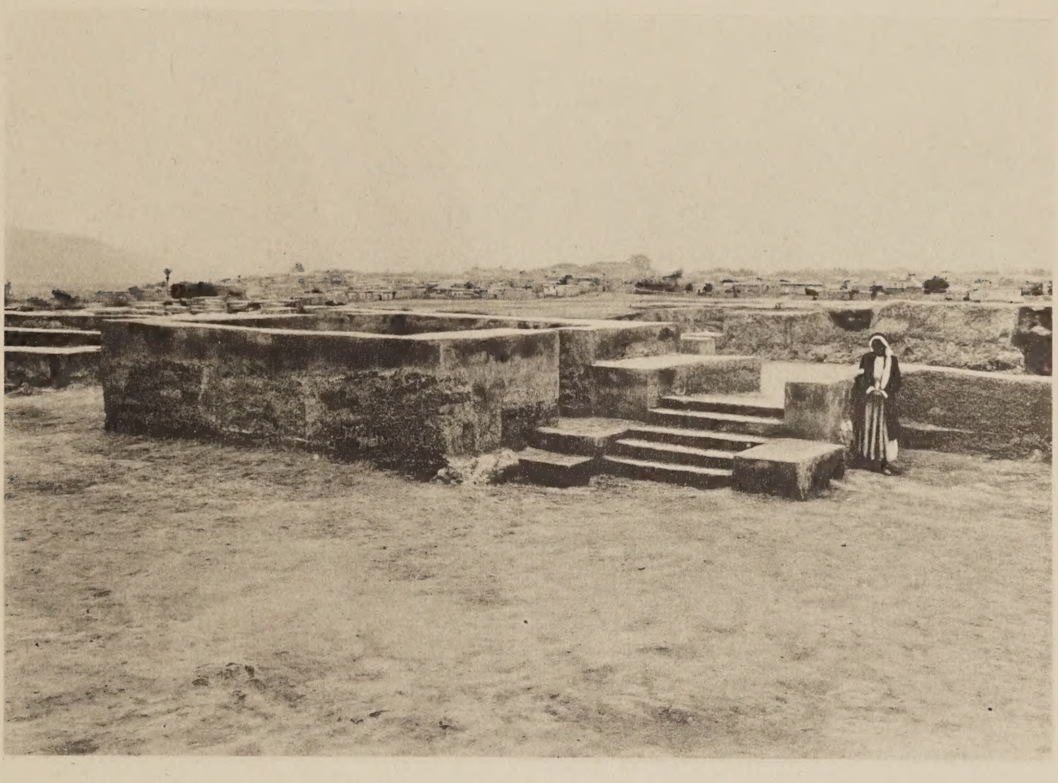
General view of the Mekal temple of Thothmes III, after renovation. Looking Southwest.



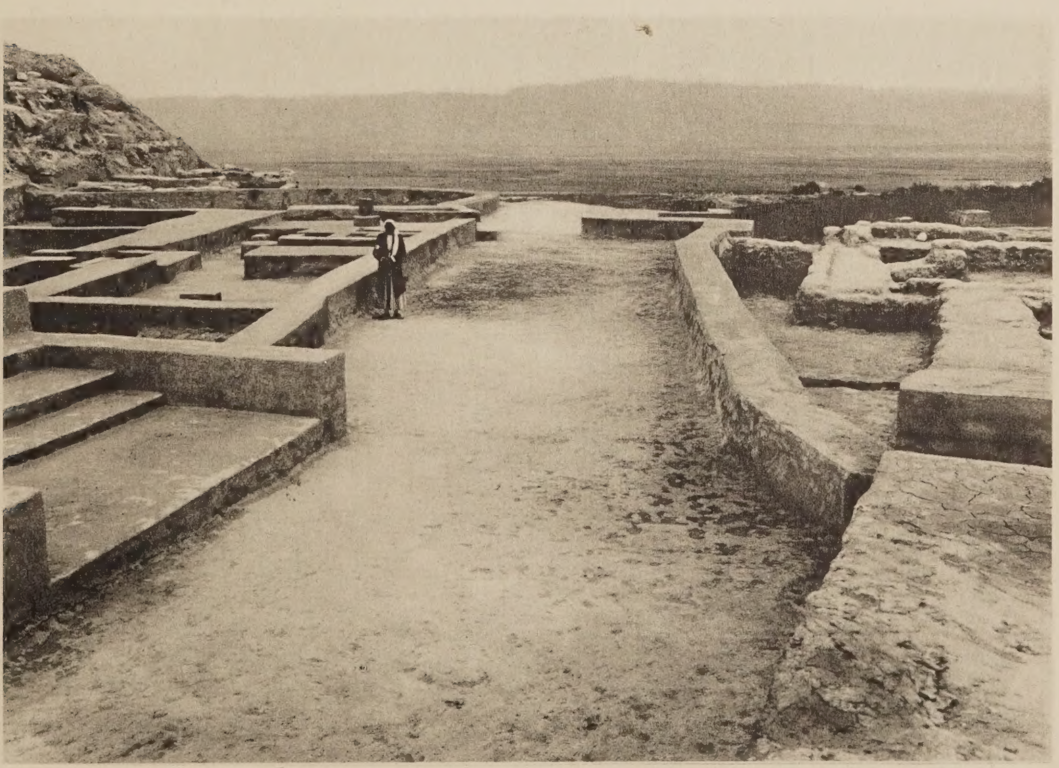
1. The two altars in the inner sanctuary of the Mekal Temple of Thothmes III (renovated). Looking Northwest.



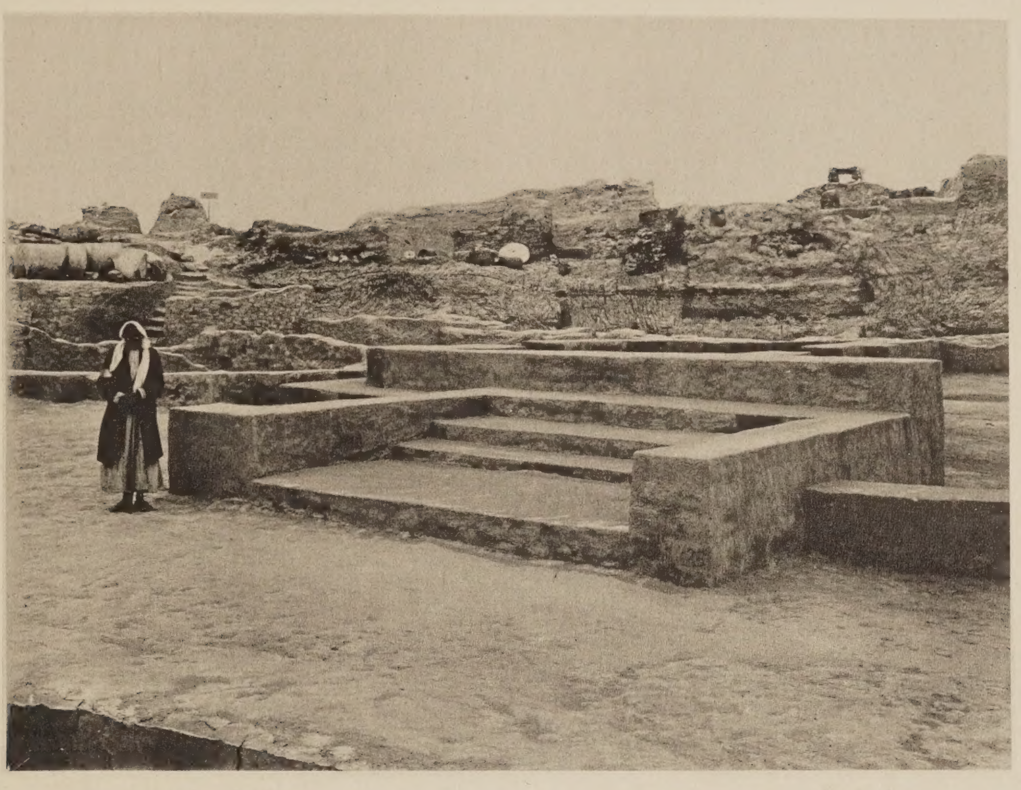
2. Sacrificial altar in the Mekal Temple (renovated). Looking South.



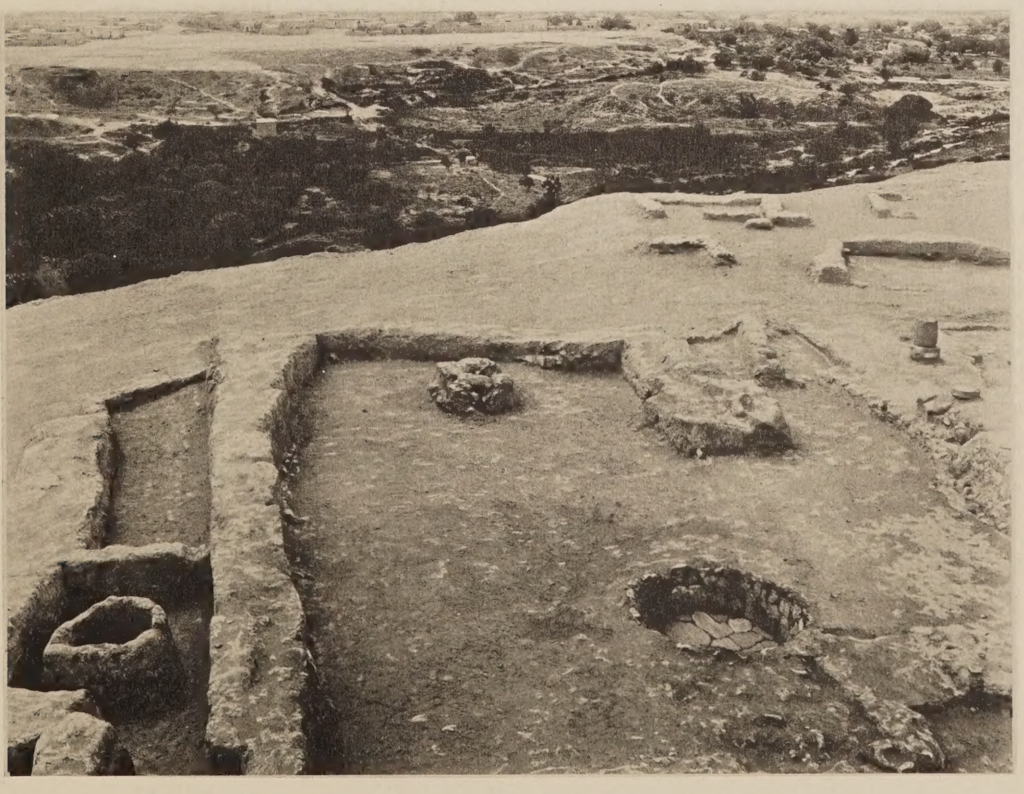
1 ROOM OF THE TEMPLE GUARDIAN (?), AND THE STEPS LEADING TO THE SOUTHERN CORRIDOR, IN THE MEKAL TEMPLE OF THOTHMES III. LOOKING SOUTHEAST.



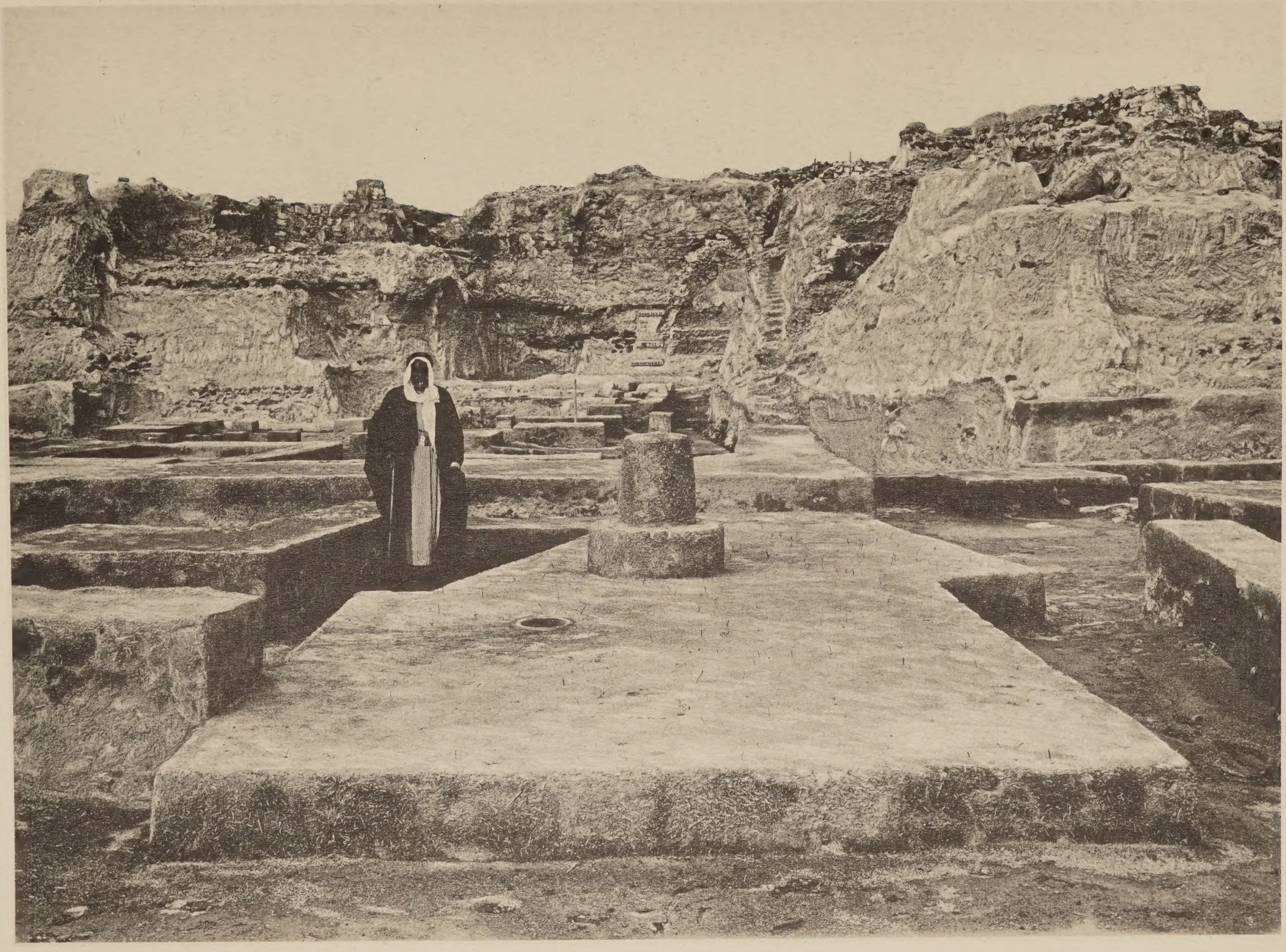
2. THE SOUTHERN CORRIDOR OF THE MEKAL TEMPLE. LOOKING EAST.



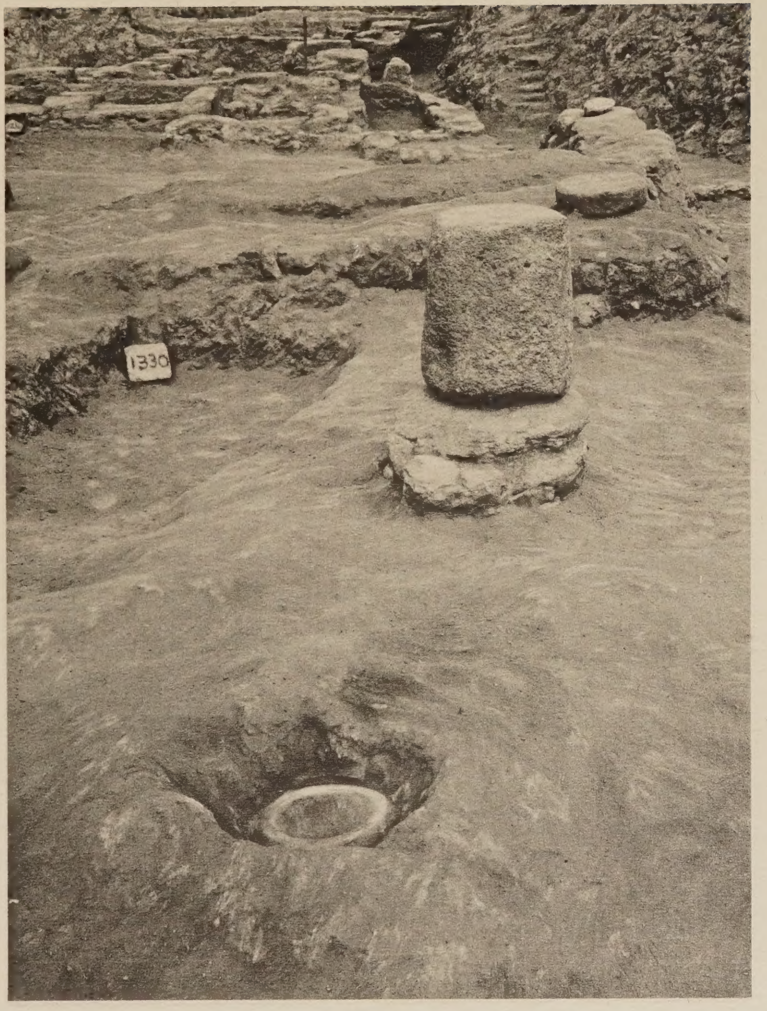
1. The Great stepped altar in the Mekal Temple of Thothmes III (renovated). Looking Northwest.



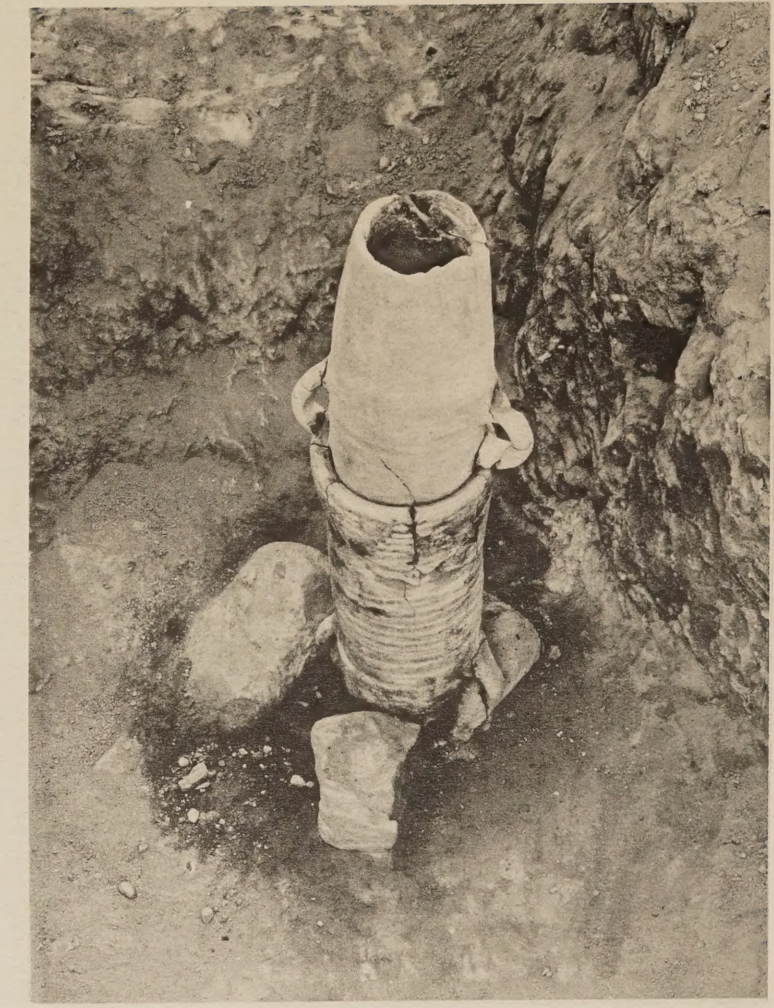
2. The 42 foot deep well (left foreground), and the oven for roasting the sacrifices (right foreground) in the Mekal Temple. Looking South.



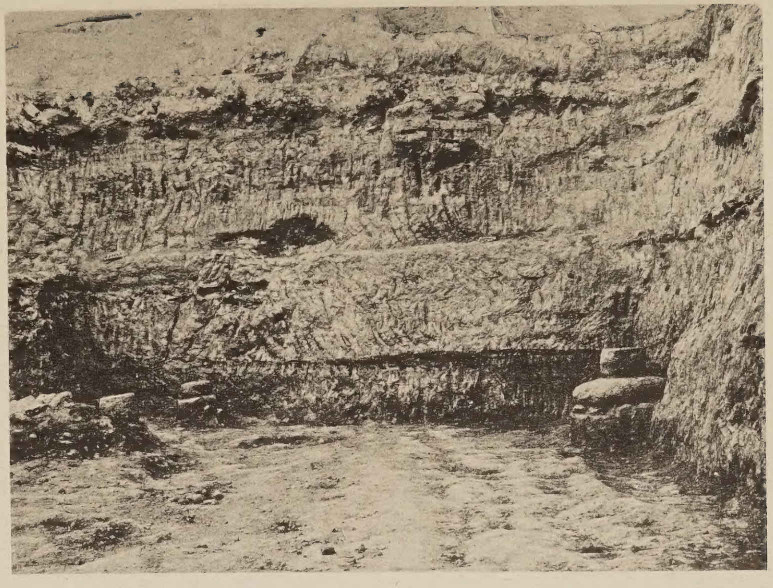
The Mazzebah, or Canaanite emblem of the god, in the Mekal Temple of Thothmes III (renovated).
Looking North.



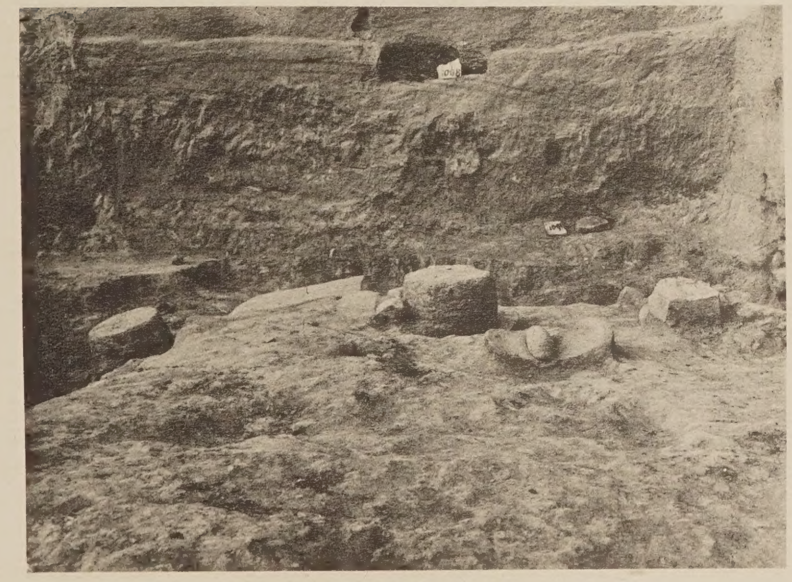
1. The mazzebahl in the Mekal Temple of Thothmes III as excavated. Before the column is the bowl for blood libations. Looking North. Cf. Pl. 21.



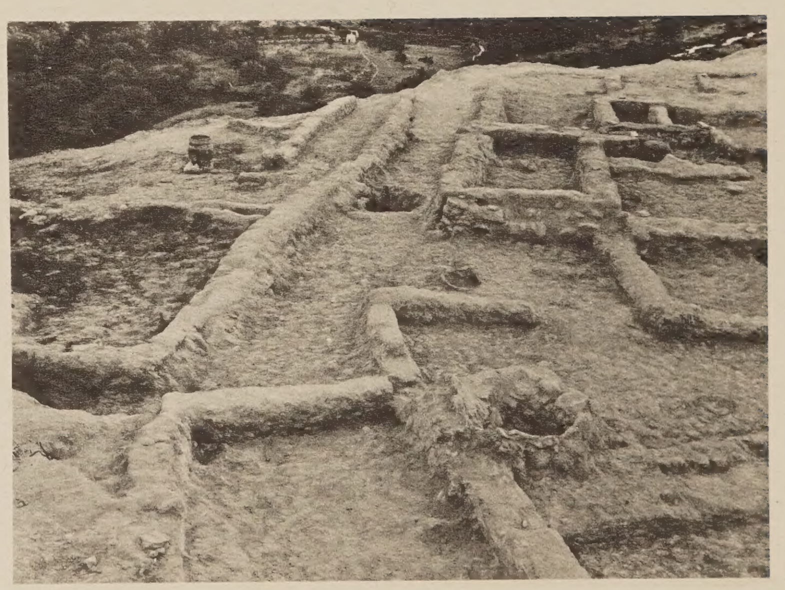
2. Tell el-Hosn. No. VIII City-level. The drain in the street in the Pre-Amenophis III level shown in Pl. 23, No. 3. Looking North.



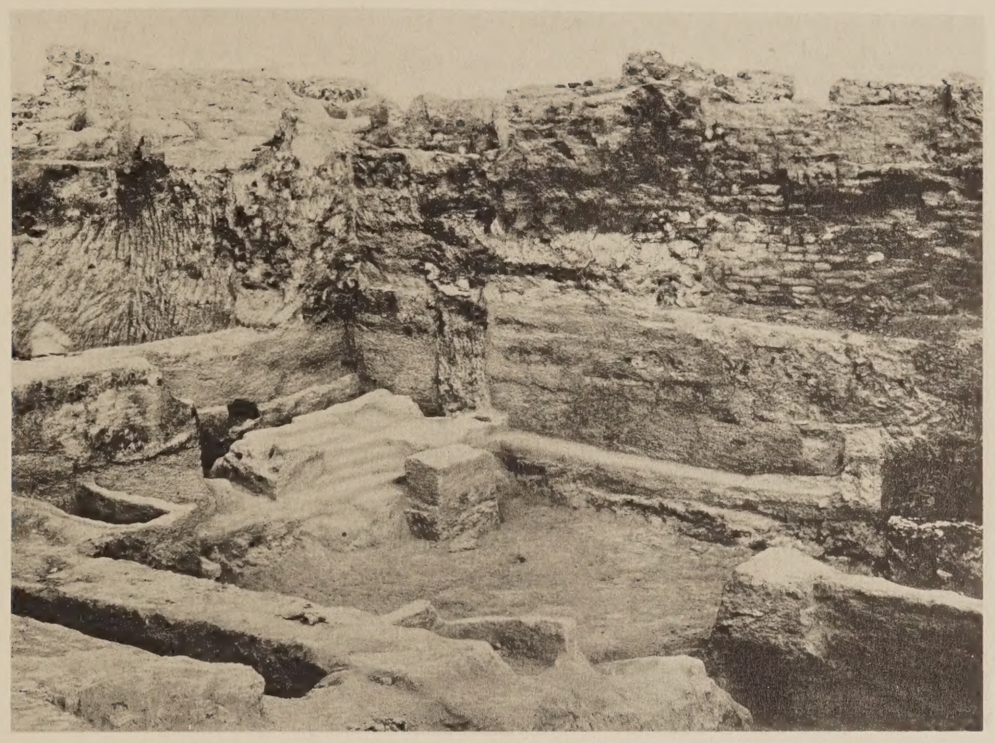
1. Tell el-Hosn, No. VIII City-level. General view of the Pre-Amenophis III area in the northern part of the great cutting, Looking North.



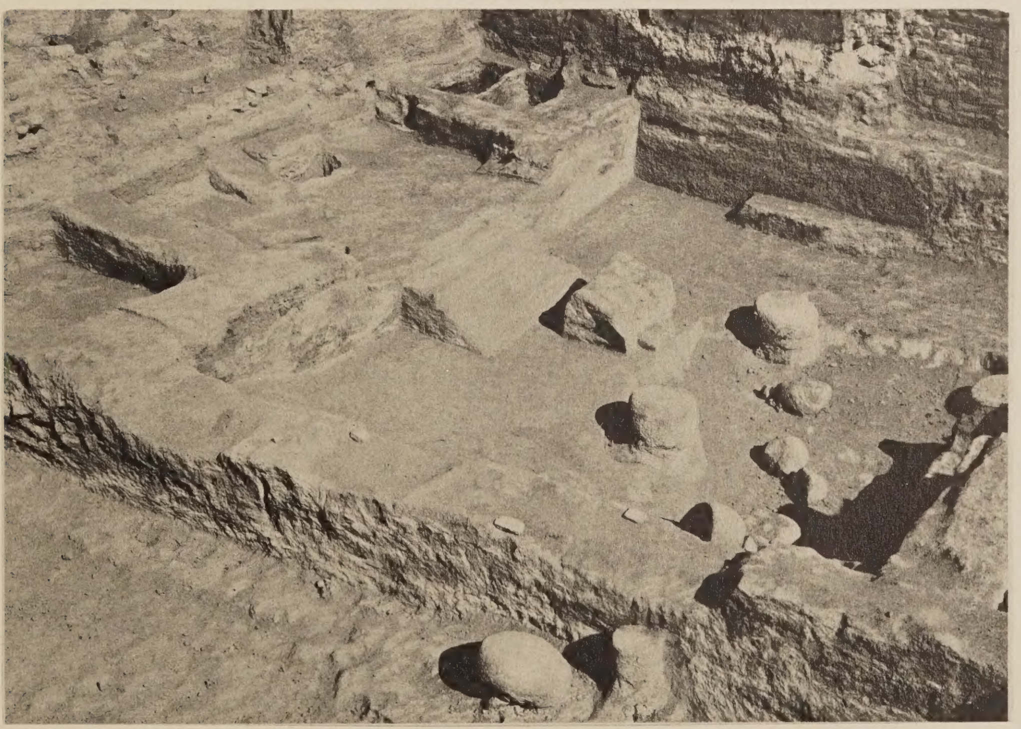
2. General view of the Pre-Amenophis III area in the southern



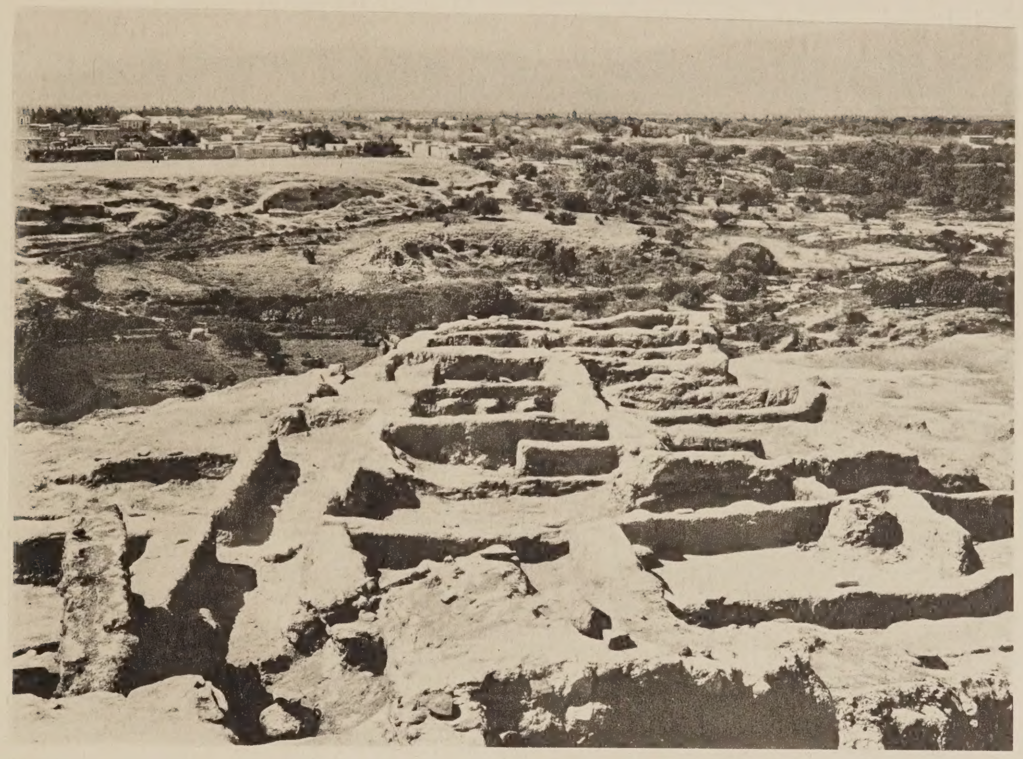
3. General view of the Pre-Amenophis III area to the east of



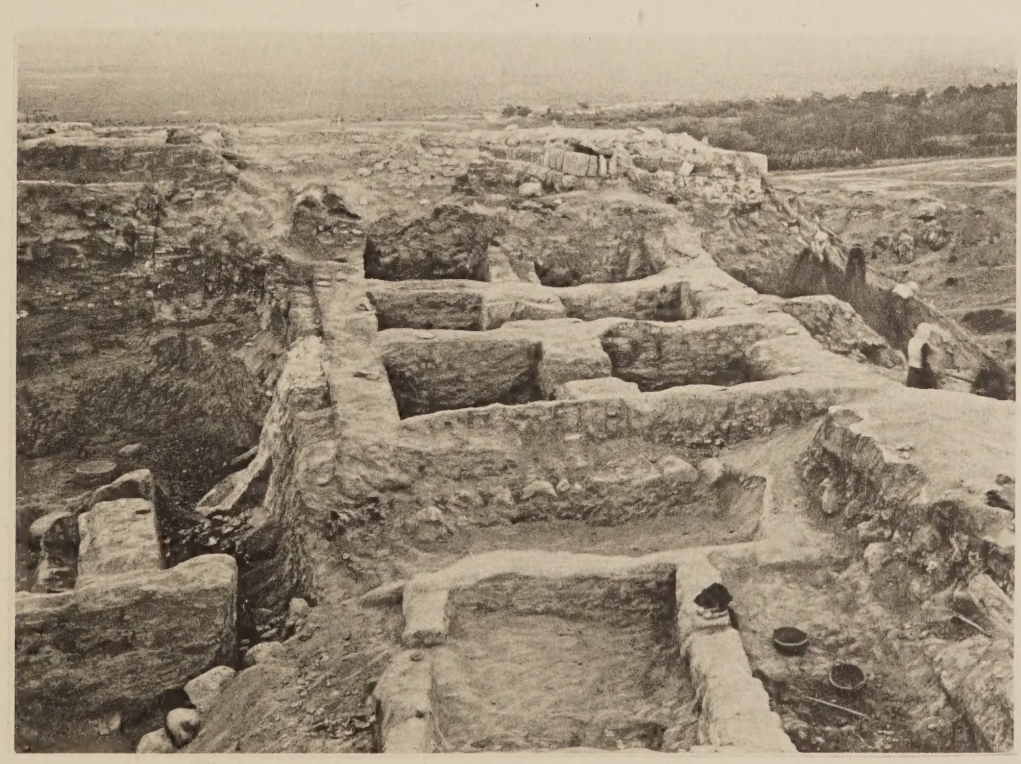
1. Tell el-Hosn, No. VII City-level. The Temple of Amenophis III. Cf. Pl. 56, Nos. 3, 4. Looking Northeast.



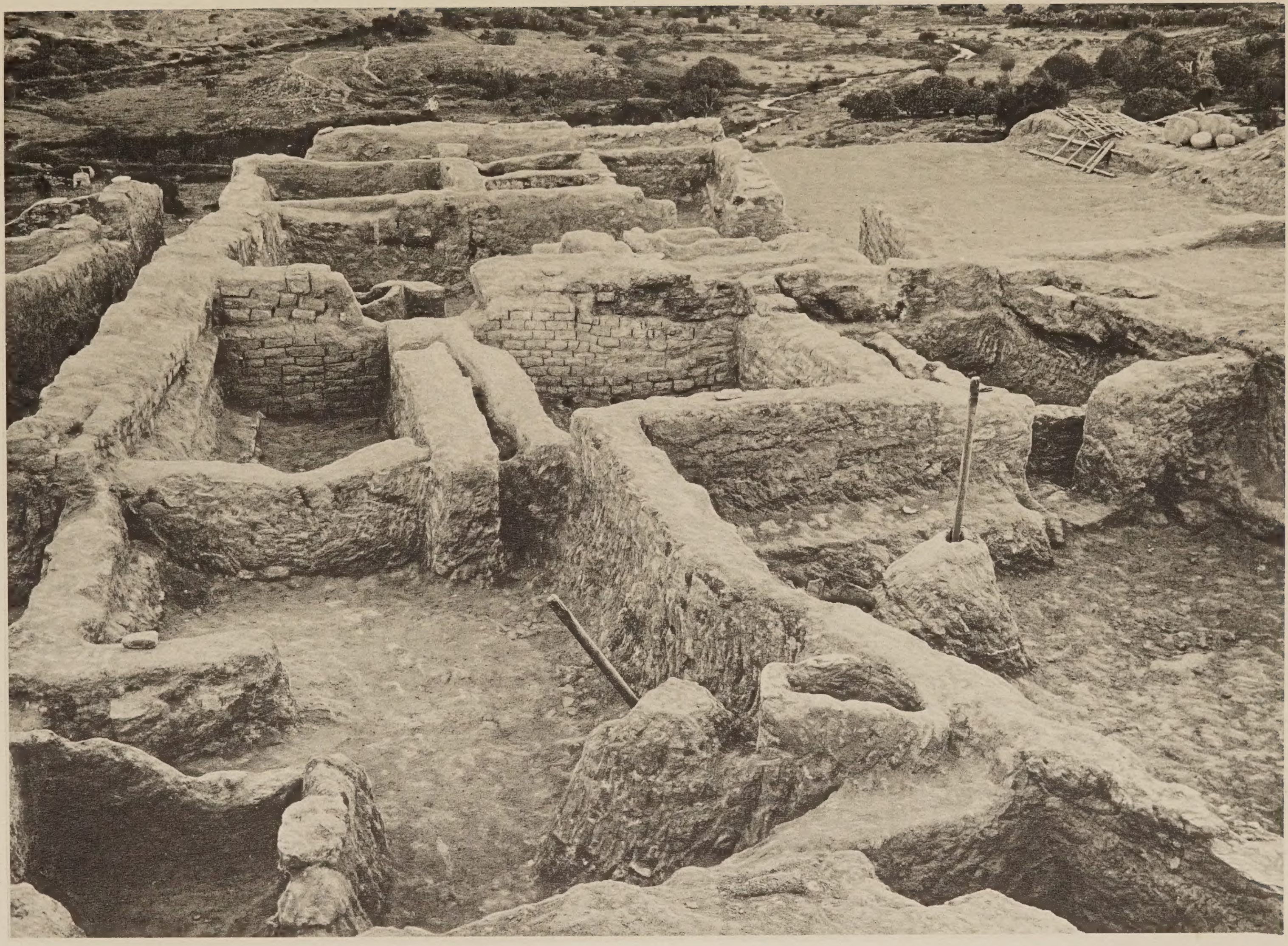
2. Tell el-Hosn, No. VI City-level. The Temple of Seti I. Cf. Pl. 56, Nos. 1, 2. Looking Northeast.



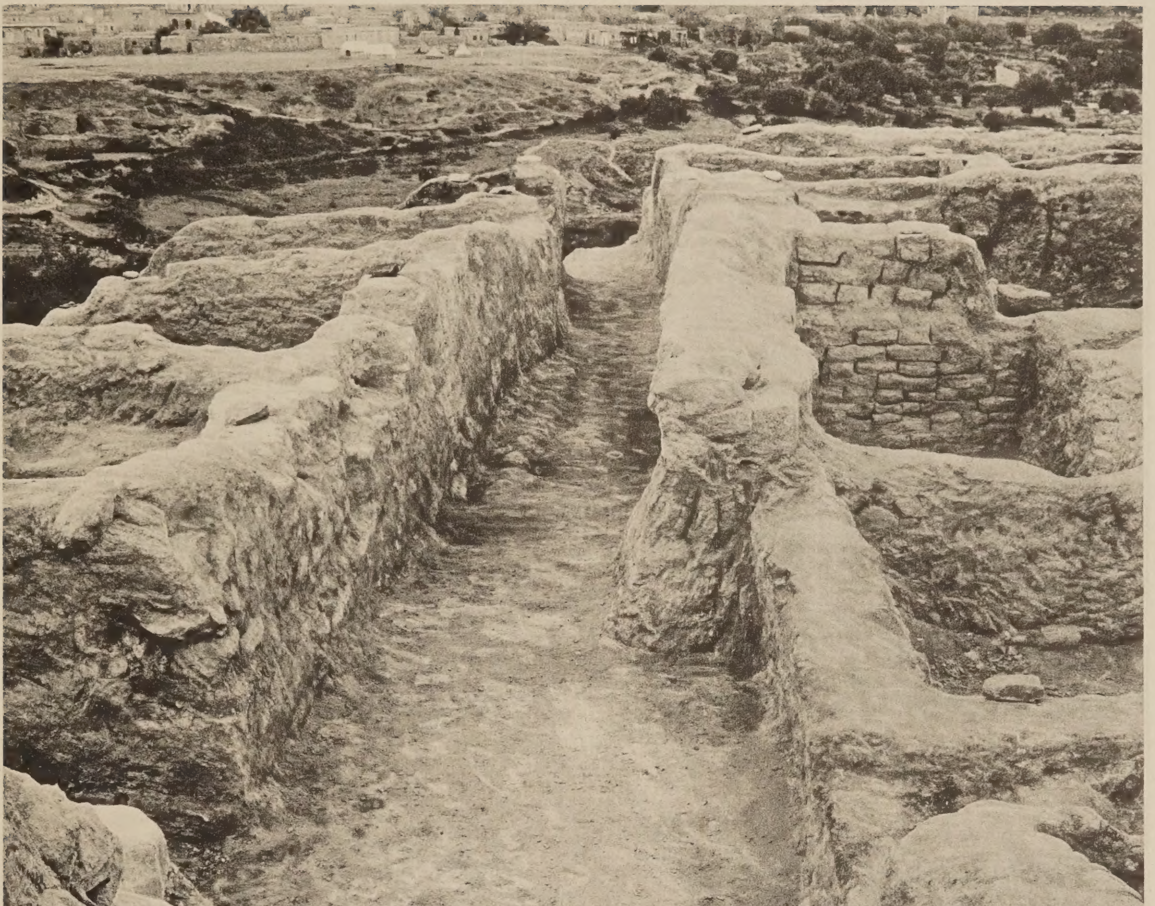
1. Tell el-Hosn, No. VI City-level. Early Seti rooms near Southeast edge of tell. Looking South.



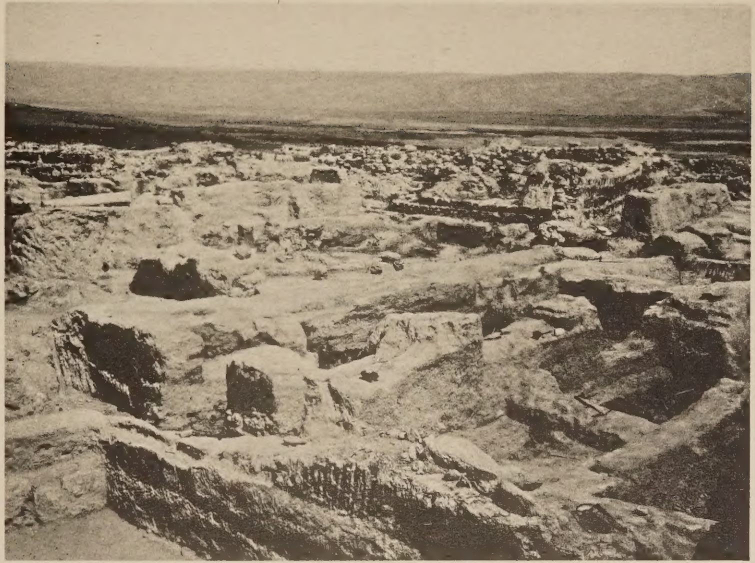
2. Tell el-Hosn, No. VI City-level. Late Seti rooms (south of Seti Temple) near southern edge of tell. Looking East.



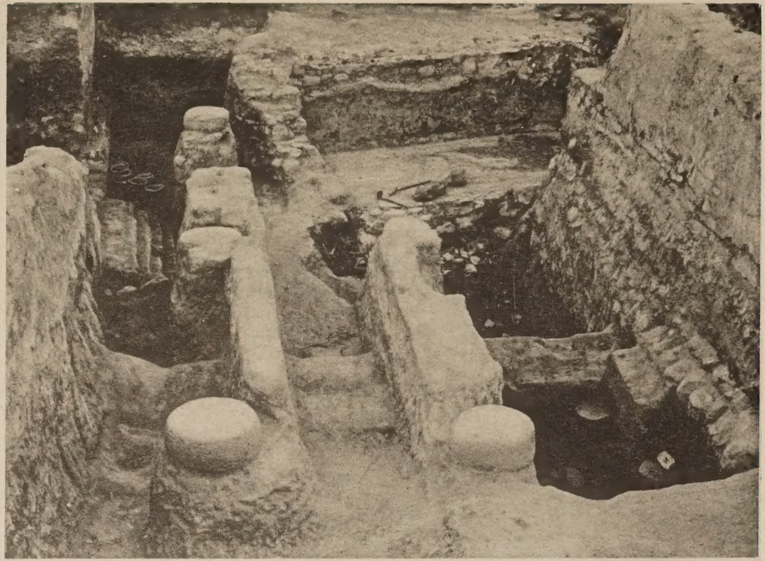
Tell el-Hosn, No. vii City-level. General view of the rooms immediately to the east of the Amenophis iii temple. (The street on the left-hand side is shown in Pl. 27.) The two clay sockets once contained poles—those shown in the photograph are modern—upon which the carcasses of the sacrificed animals were doubtless dressed. Looking South.



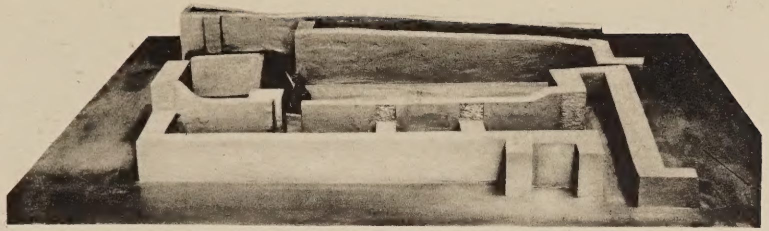
Tell el-Hosn, No. vii City-Level. A view of the south end of "Main Street," which divided the area east of the Amenophis III temple into two parts. Looking South.



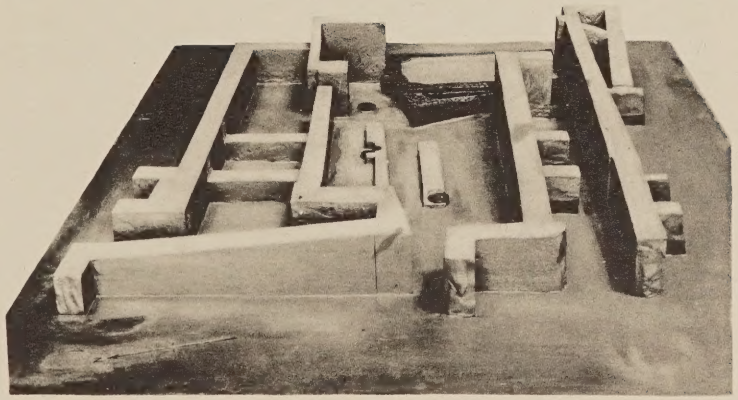
1. TELL EL-HOSN, NO. V CITY-LEVEL. RAMESES II ROOMS, PARTLY CLEARED. LOOKING NORTHEAST.



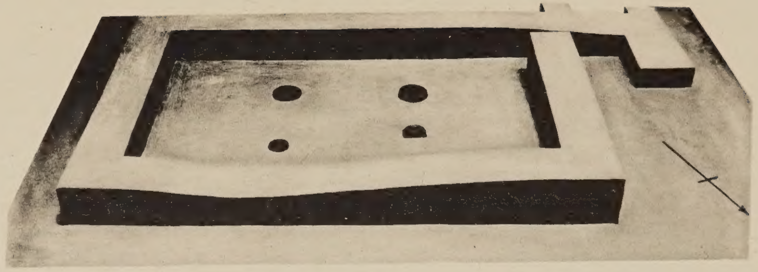
3. INTERIOR OF THE SOUTHERN TEMPLE OF RAMESES II, THE "TEMPLE OF DAGON" OF I *CHRONICLES*, X, 10. LOOKING EAST.



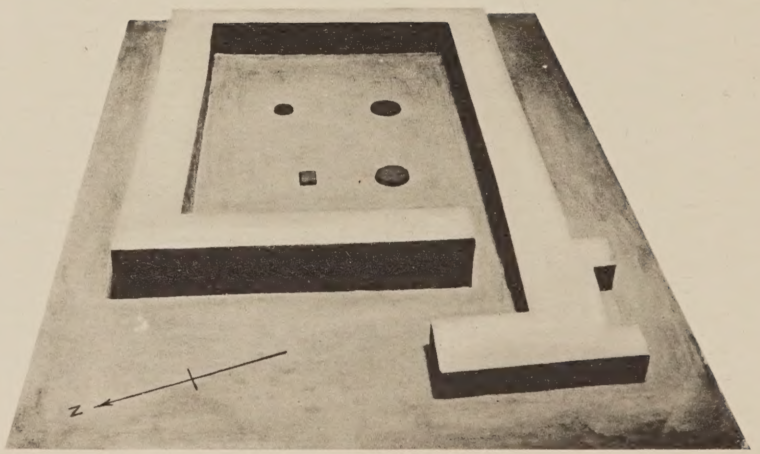
1. Model of the Southern Temple of Rameses II on the tell (Cf. Pl. 28, No. 3). Looking South.



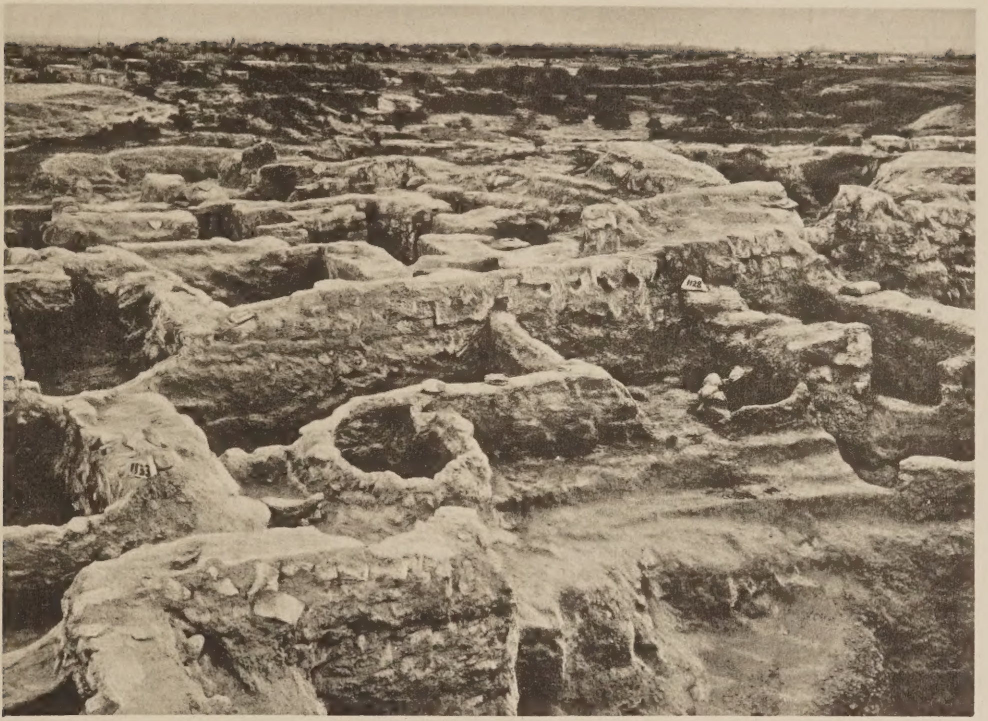
2. Another view of the model of the Southern Temple of Rameses II. Looking East.



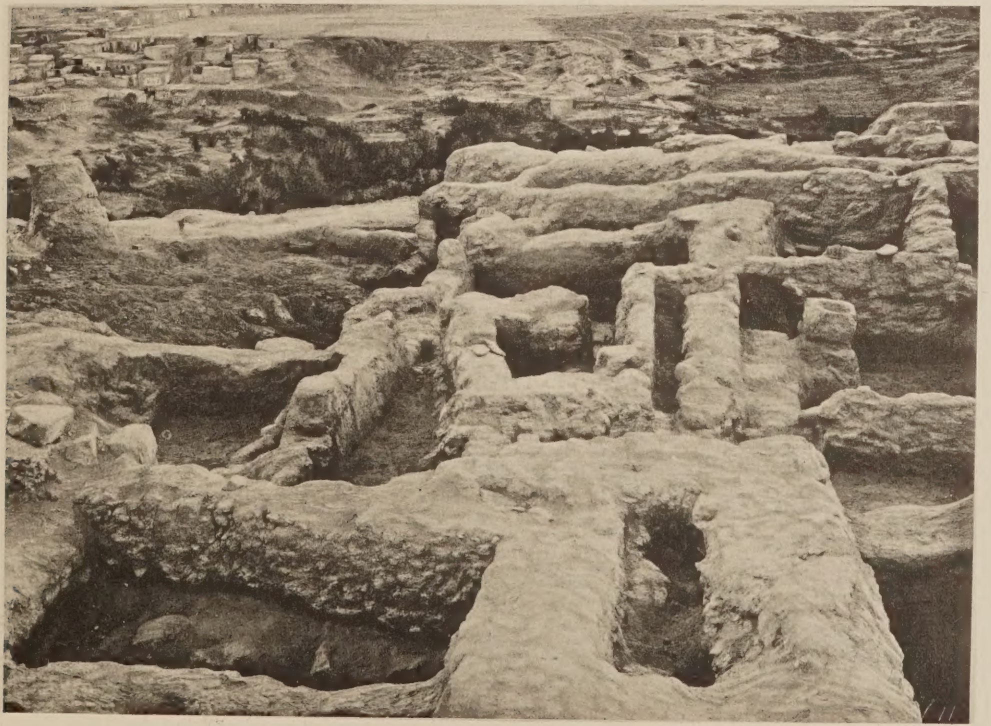
3. Model of the Northern Temple of Rameses II on the tell (Cf. Pl. 28, No. 4). Looking South.



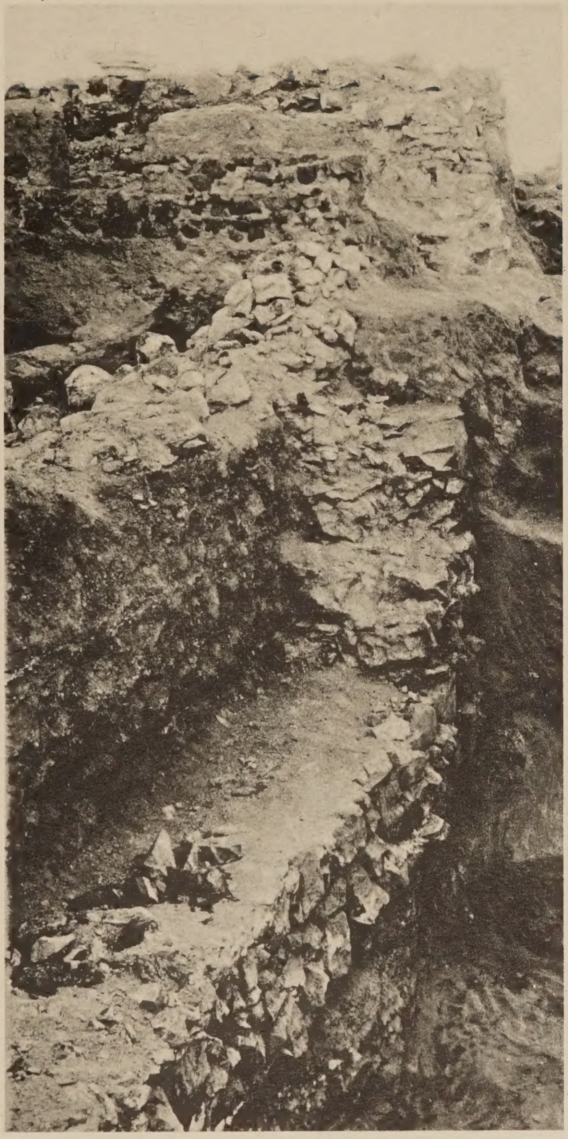
4. Another view of the model of the Northern Temple of Rameses II. Looking East.



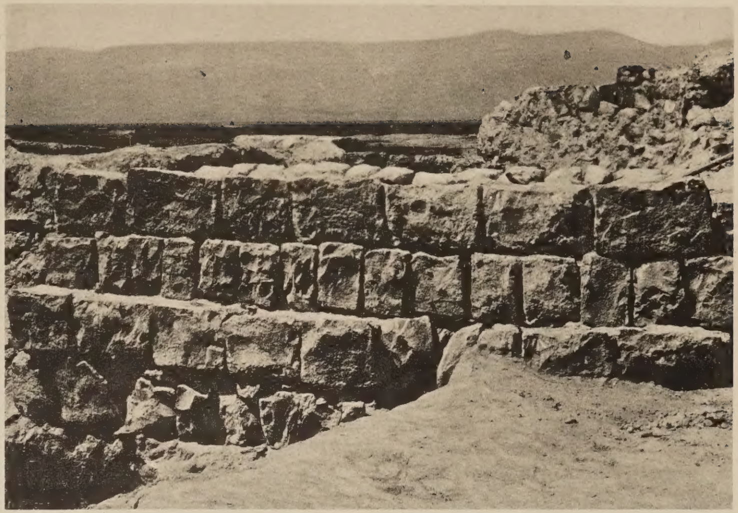
1. Tell el.Hosn. No. IV City-level. General view of rooms (near southeast edge of tell) dating from late Ramesside tó Old Persian times. The rooms to the left (east) of these are shown in No. 2 below. Looking South.



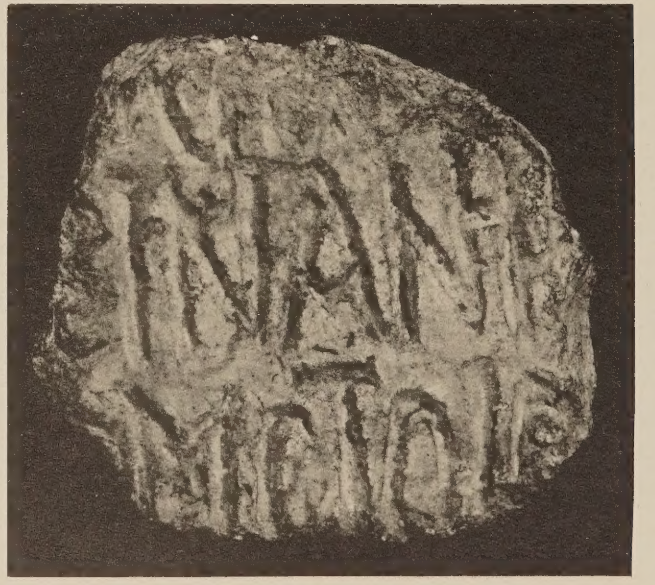
2. General view. of rooms dating from Late Ramesside to Old Persian times. These rooms are to the east (*i.e.* to the left) of those shown in No. 1 above. Looking South.



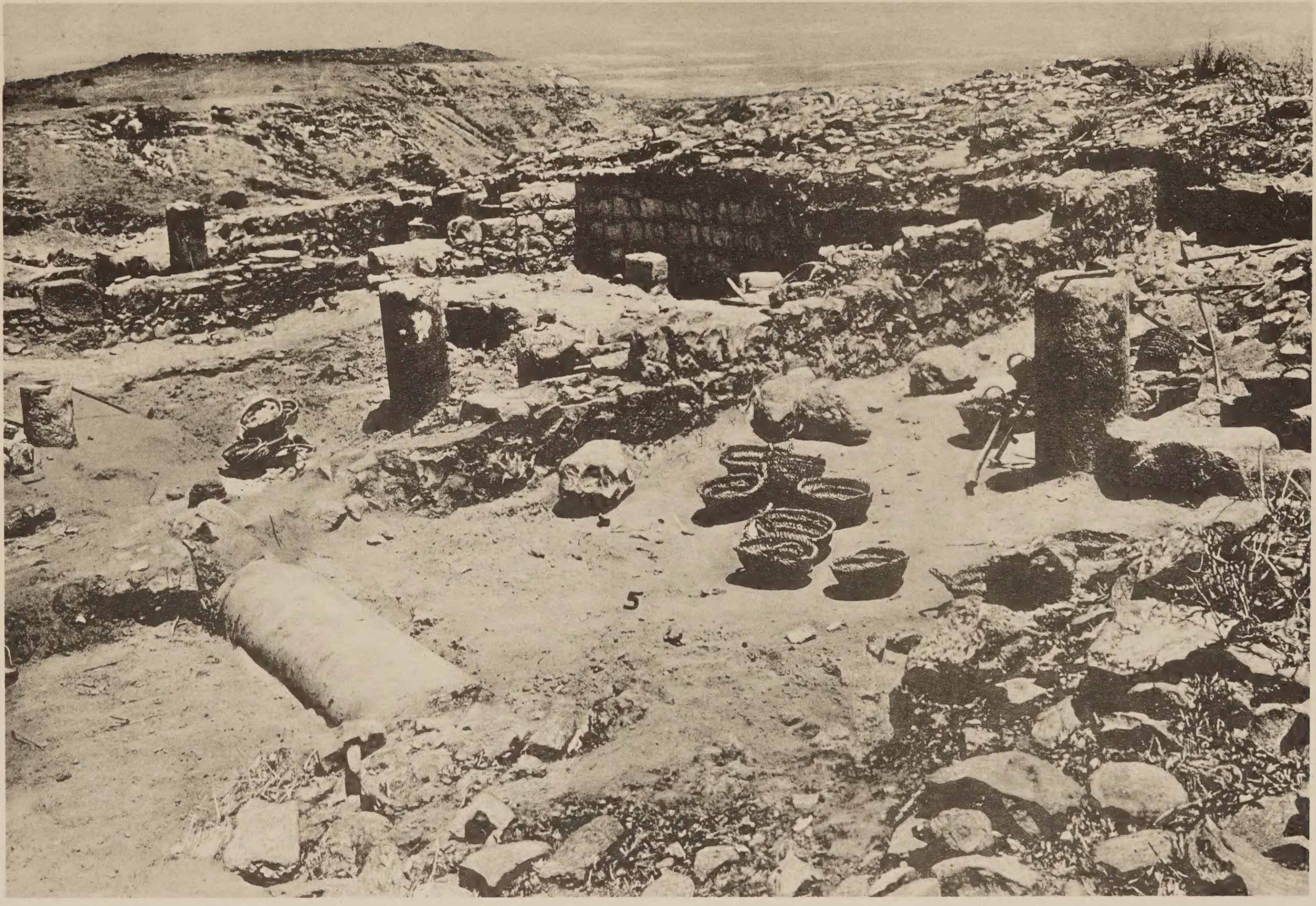
1. Tell el-Hosn, No. II City-level. View of the foundations of a large Byzantine wall which reached the floor of No. VII City-level. Looking Northeast



2. Tell el-Hosn, No. III City-level. Details of basalt masonry in the inner cross wall of the Hellenistic-Roman temple. Looking West.



3. Fragment of white marble with part of a Byzantine inscription of about the fifth century or beginning of the sixth century A. D.



Tell el-Hosn, No. I City-level. Rooms in Arabic level in course of excavation. The columns originally belonged to the Byzantine or to the Roman level. Looking East.

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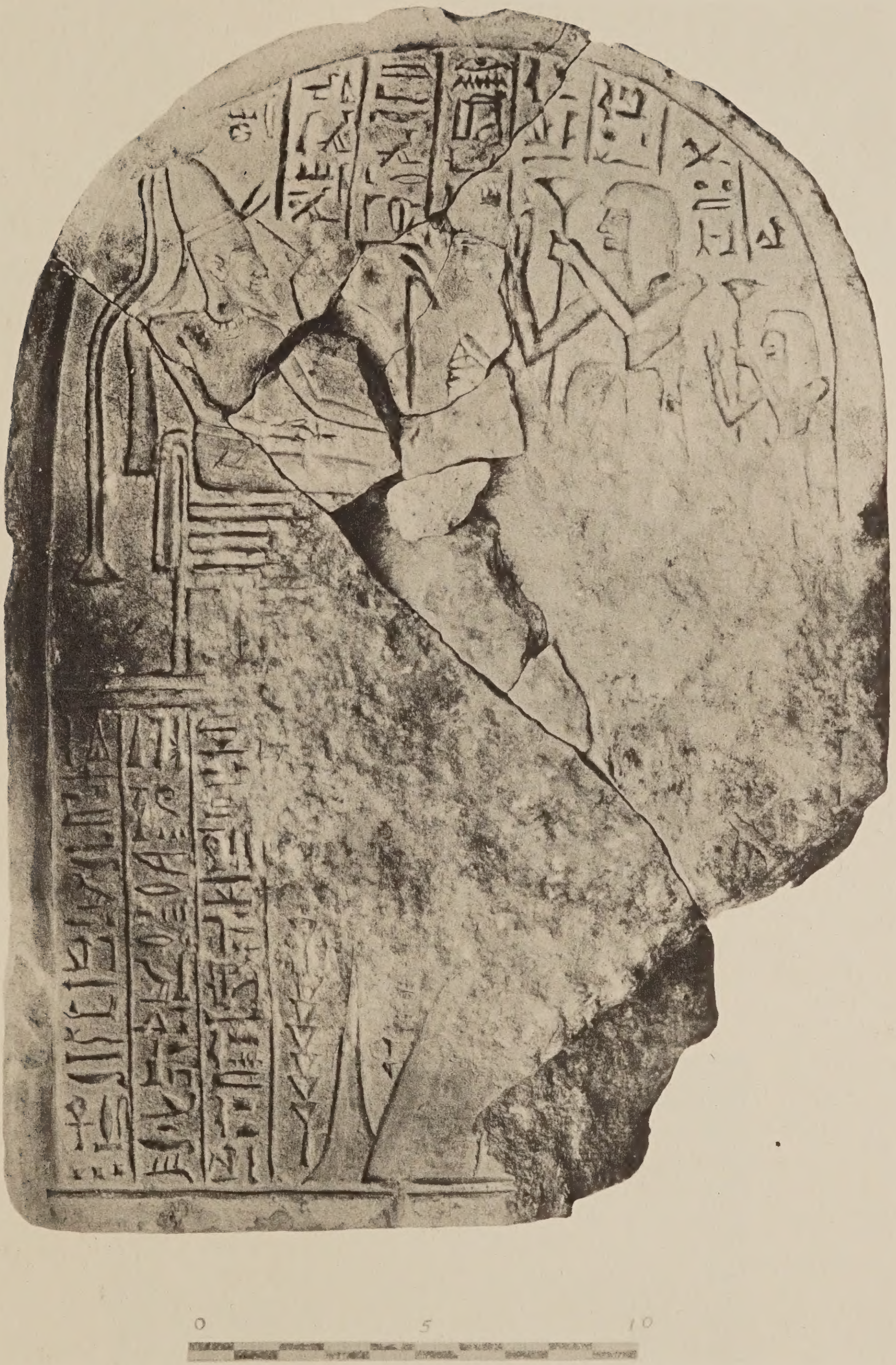
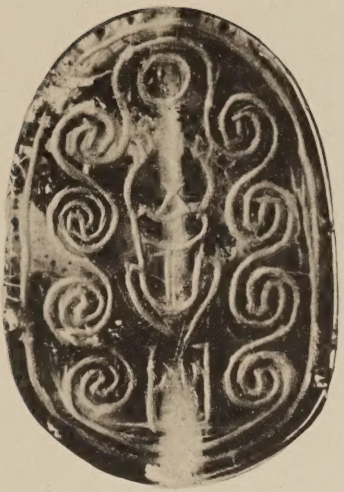
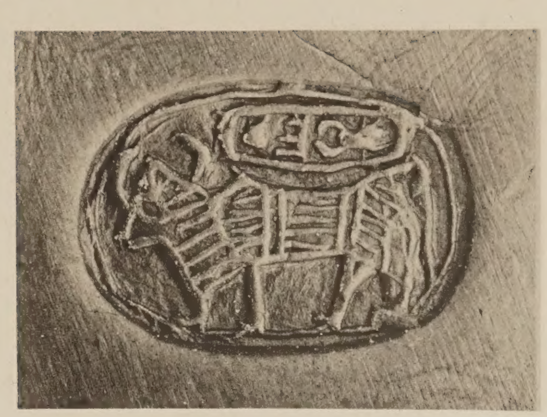


STELA OF "MEKAL, THE LORD OF BETH-SHAN". TEMPLE OF THE GOD IN THE THOTHMES III LEVEL. DEDICATED TO A "BUILDER" NAMED AMEN-EM-APT BY HIS SON PA-RA-EM-HEB.

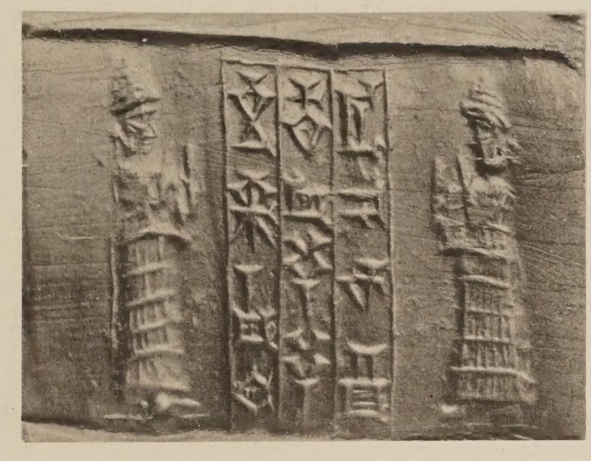
HELIOTYPE CO. BOSTON



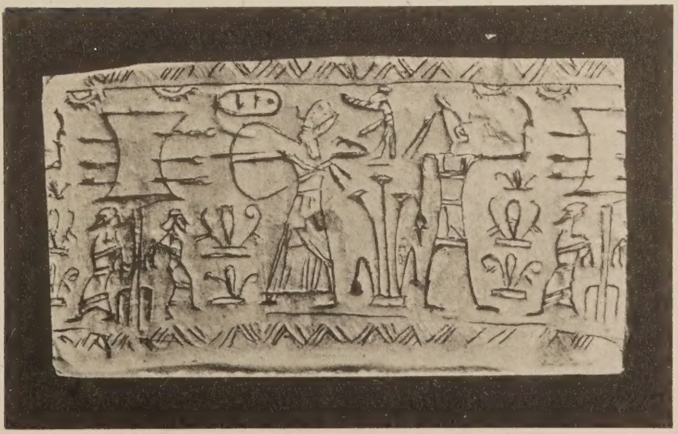
1 Amethyst scarab of Sesostris I (1970-1935 B. C.).



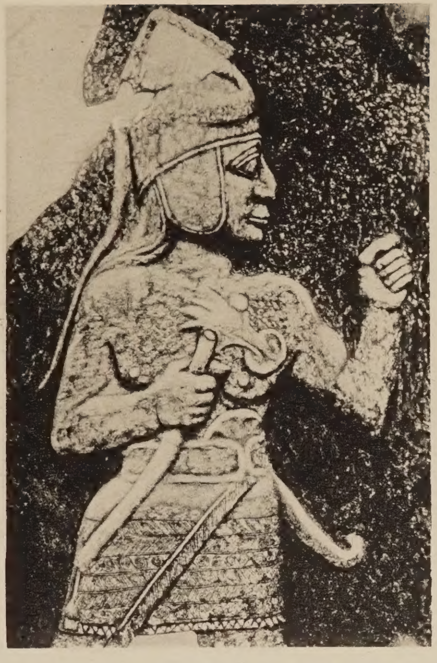
2. Impression of a steatite scarab of Thothmes III (1501-1447 B. C.).



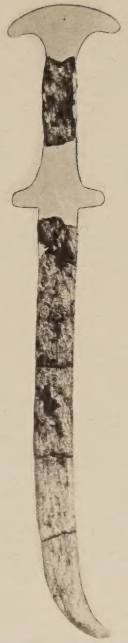
3. Impression of a Babylonian cylinder seal of lapis lazuli. The text reads "Manum, the diviner and servant of the god Enki (*i.e.* Ea)". Date, about XIXth or XVIIIth century B. C.



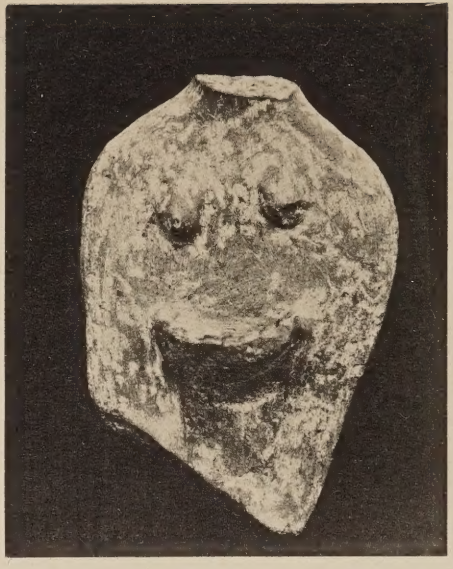
4. Impression of a stone cylinder seal. Southern Temple of Rameses II (1292-1225 B. C.).



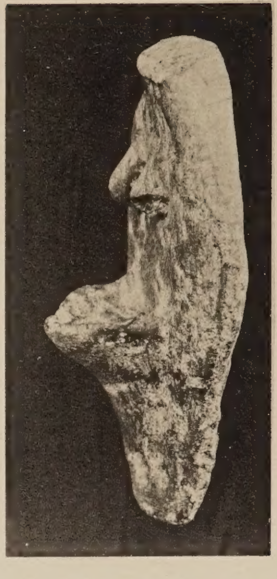
1. Axe and dagger shown on Hittite sculpture at Boghazkeui, Anatolia.



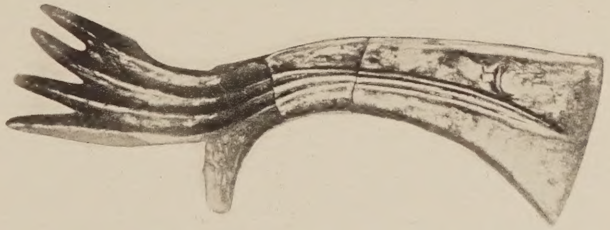
3. Dagger, probably Hittite. Thothmes III Temple of Mekal at Beth-shan.



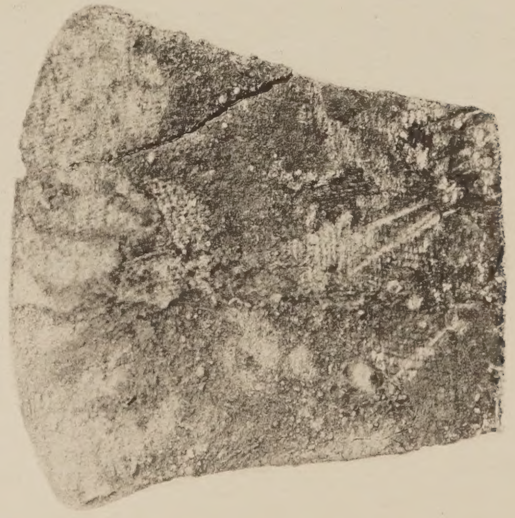
4. Pottery figurine representing a serpent goddess in the form of a uræus, with breasts and a cup below for the lacteal fluid (front view). Amenophis III level.



5. Side view of the serpent goddess figurine shown in No. 4



2. Hittite axehead. Amenophis III Temple at Beth-shan.



6. Ceremonial (?) axehead of bronze

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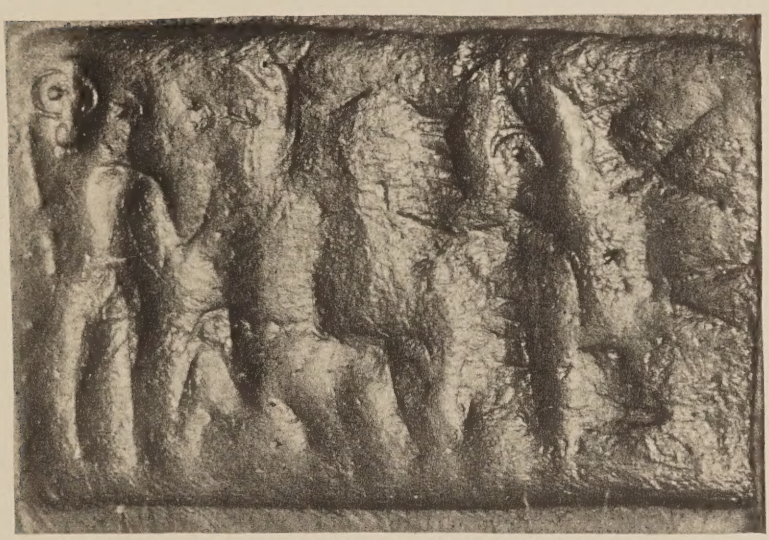
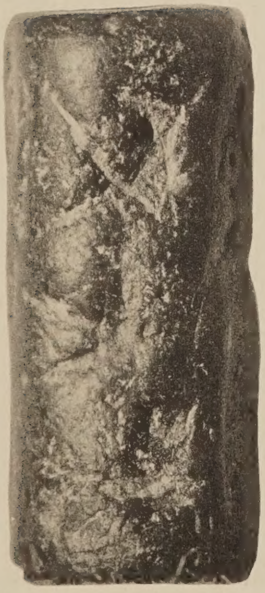
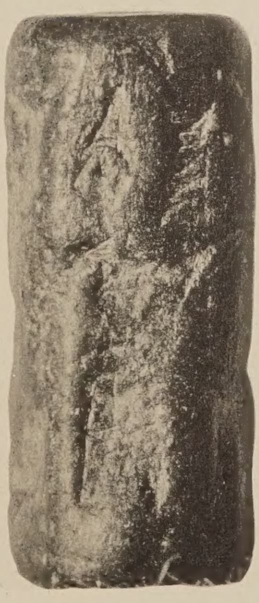


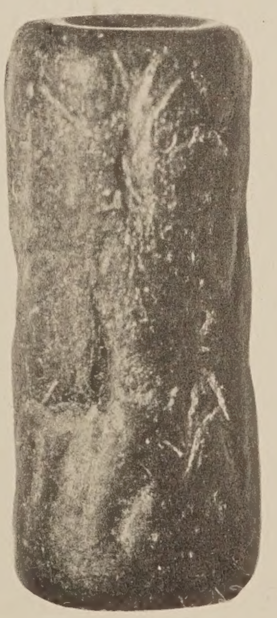
1. Wax impression of Hæmatite Hittite seal Amenophis III level



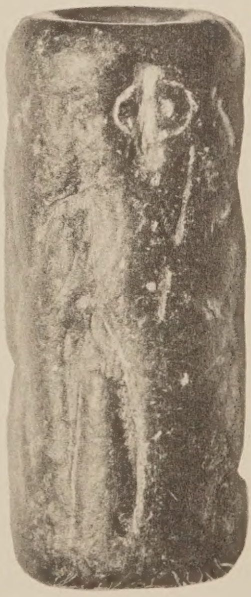
2



3

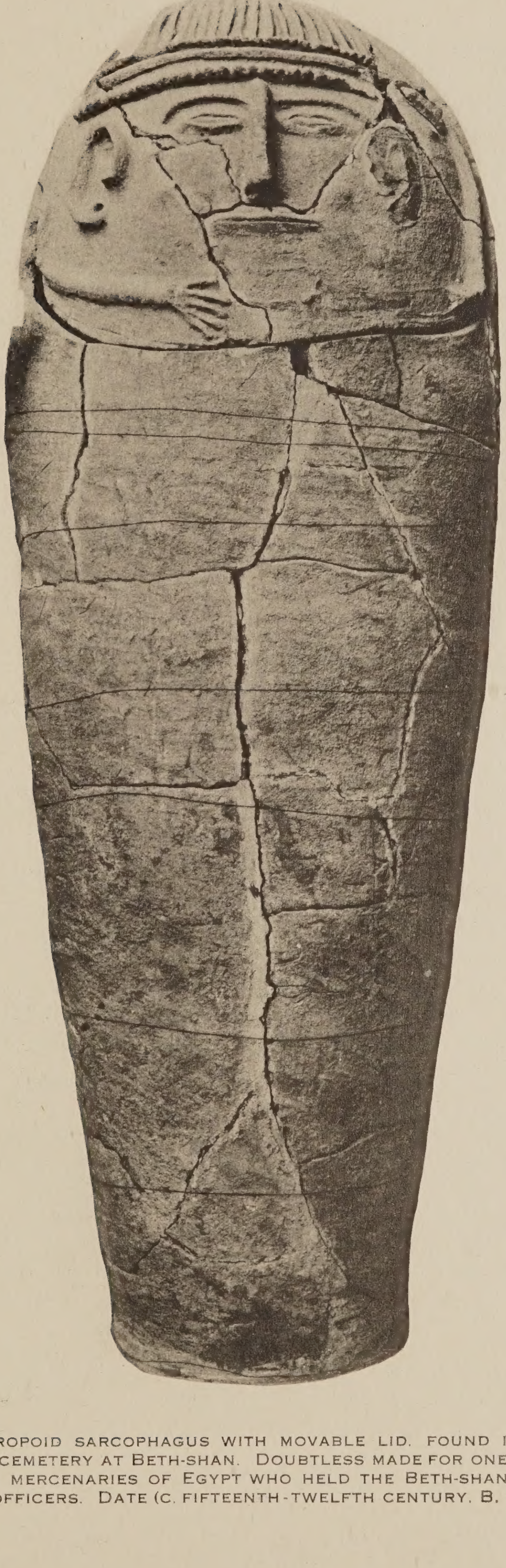


4



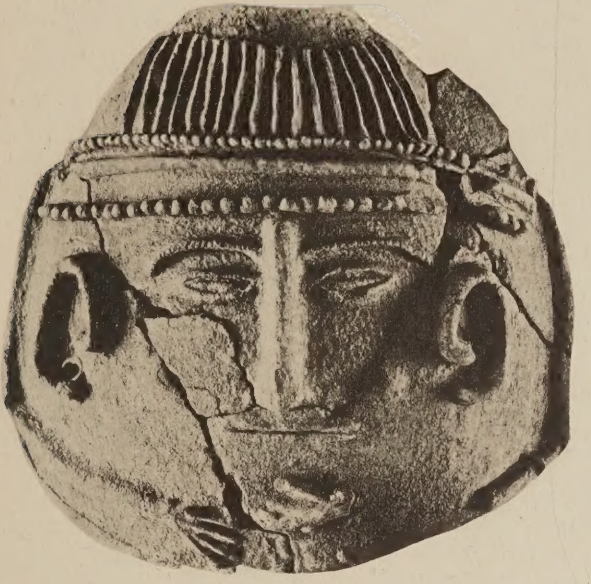
5

2. Side of the above Hittite seal showing ass and some emblem not yet made out. (on altar (?) ).
3. Another side of the seal showing a deity with a conical cap and a hieroglyph meaning "fort".
4. Another side of the seal showing (above) a vulture and (below) an elephant.
5. Remaining side of the seal, showing a deity holding an axe, and the hieroglyph for "god".

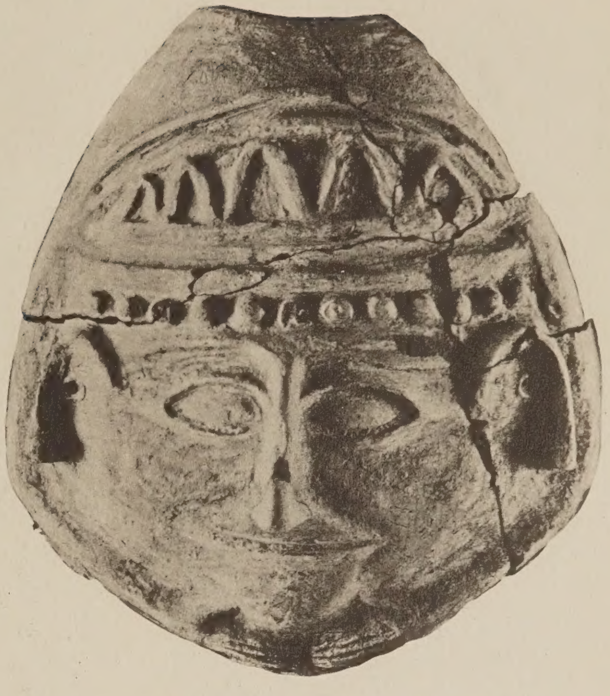


POTTERY ANTHROPOID SARCOPHAGUS WITH MOVABLE LID. FOUND IN THE GREAT NORTHERN CEMETERY AT BETH-SHAN. DOUBTLESS MADE FOR ONE OF THE MEDITERRANEAN MERCENARIES OF EGYPT WHO HELD THE BETH-SHAN FORT UNDER EGYPTIAN OFFICERS. DATE (C. FIFTEENTH-TWELFTH CENTURY. B. C).

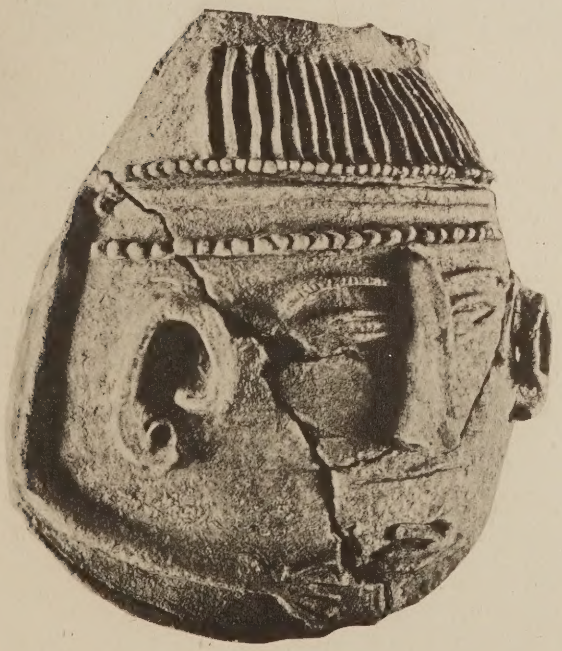
HELIOTYPE CO. BOSTON



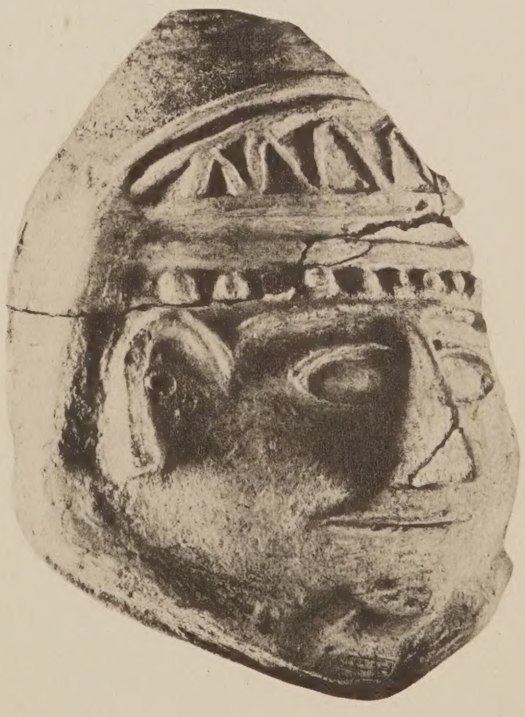
1. Cover of the Anthropoid sarcophagus shown in Plate 37. Front view.



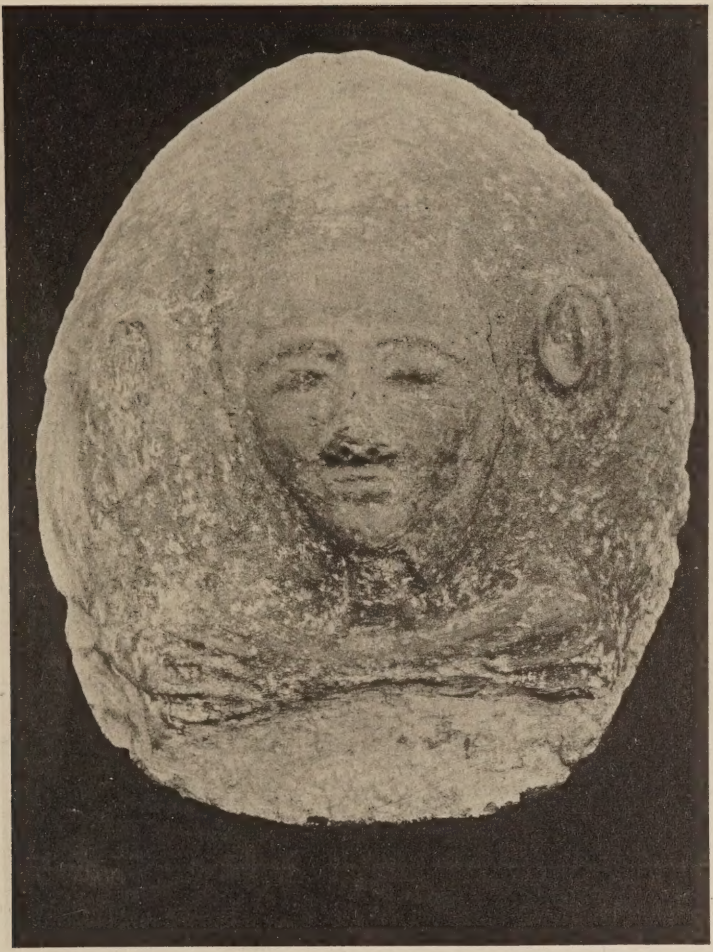
3. Cover of another pottery Anthropoid sarcophagus found in the great Northern cemetery.

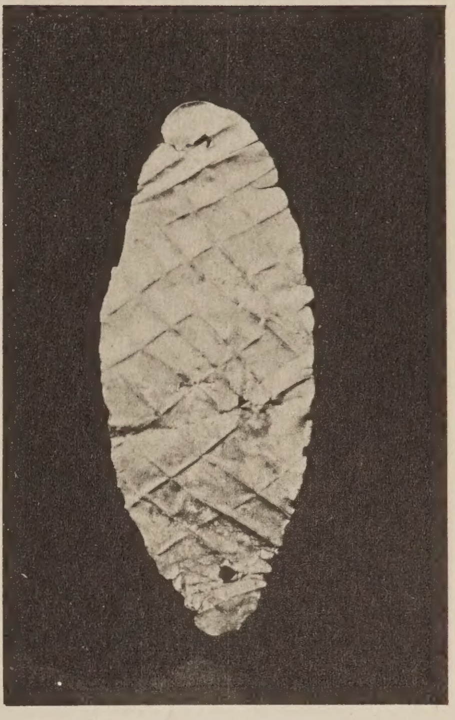


2. Side view of the cover shown in No 1.



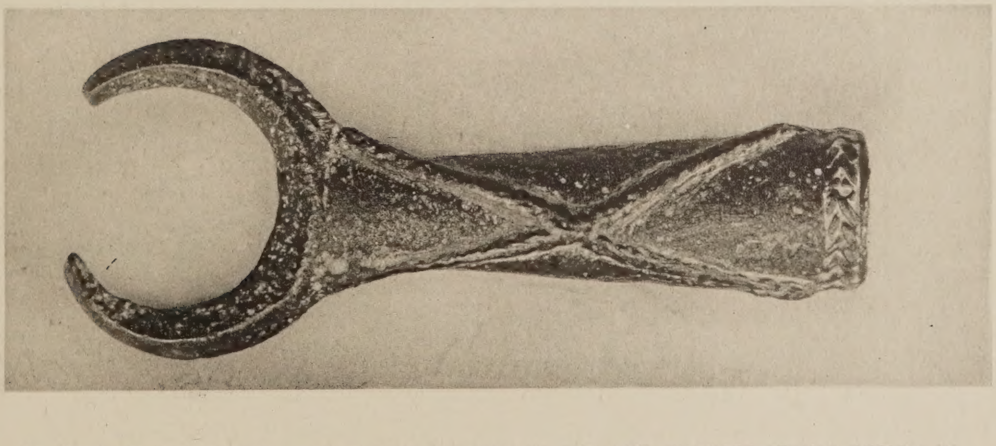
4. Side view of the cover shown in No 3.



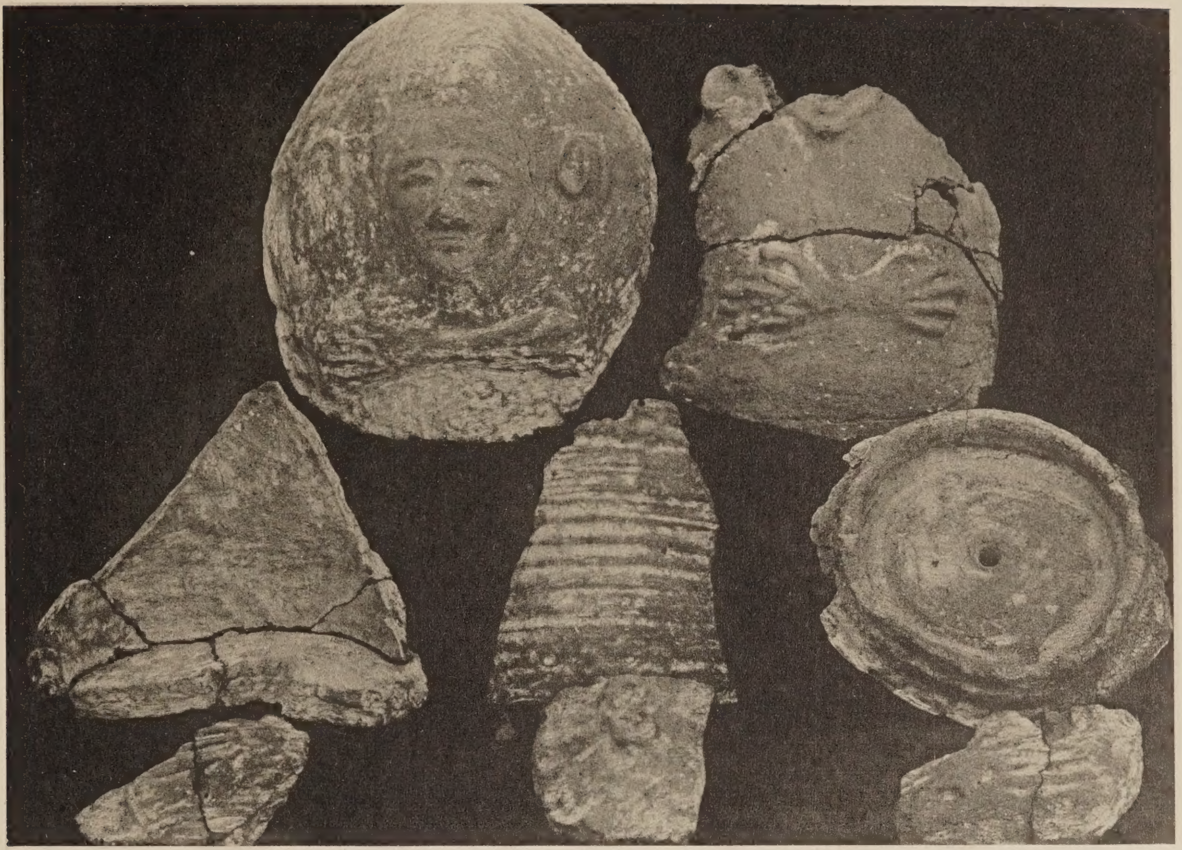


2. GOLD-LEAF "PLATE" ONCE ATTACHED TO THE MOUTH OF A BODY IN ONE OF THE ANTHROPOID SARCOPHAGI FOUND IN THE GREAT NORTHERN CEMETERY.

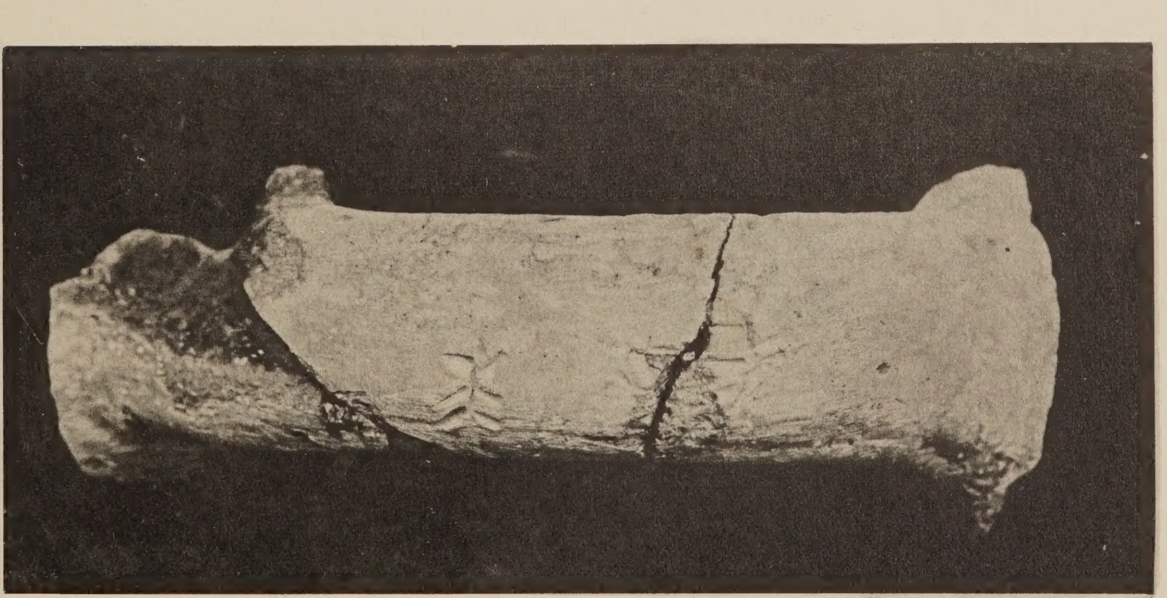
1. COVER OF A POTTERY ANTHROPOID SARCOPHAGUS OF A WOMAN. (CF. PL. 38 WHICH SHOWS THE HEADS OF MEN). FOUND IN THE GREAT NORTHERN CEMETERY.



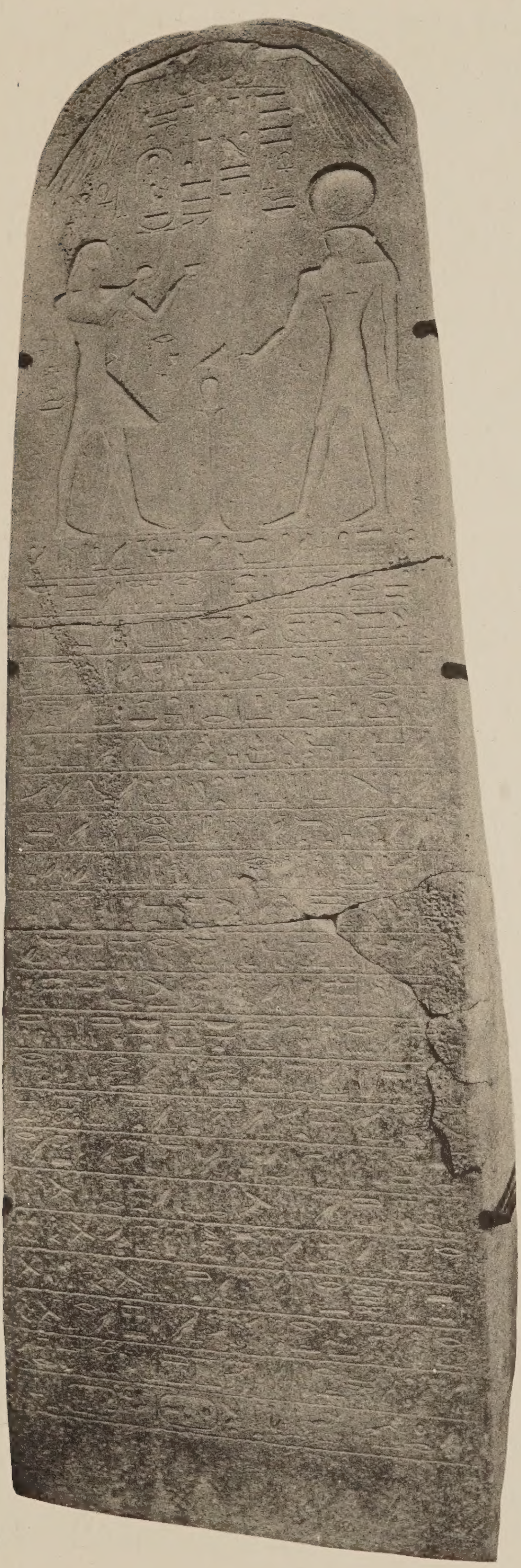
3 BRONZE SPEAR-BUTT, WITH CRESCENT-SHAPED END AND CROSSED-STRING DESIGN IN HIGH RELIEF. AMENOPHIS III LEVEL.



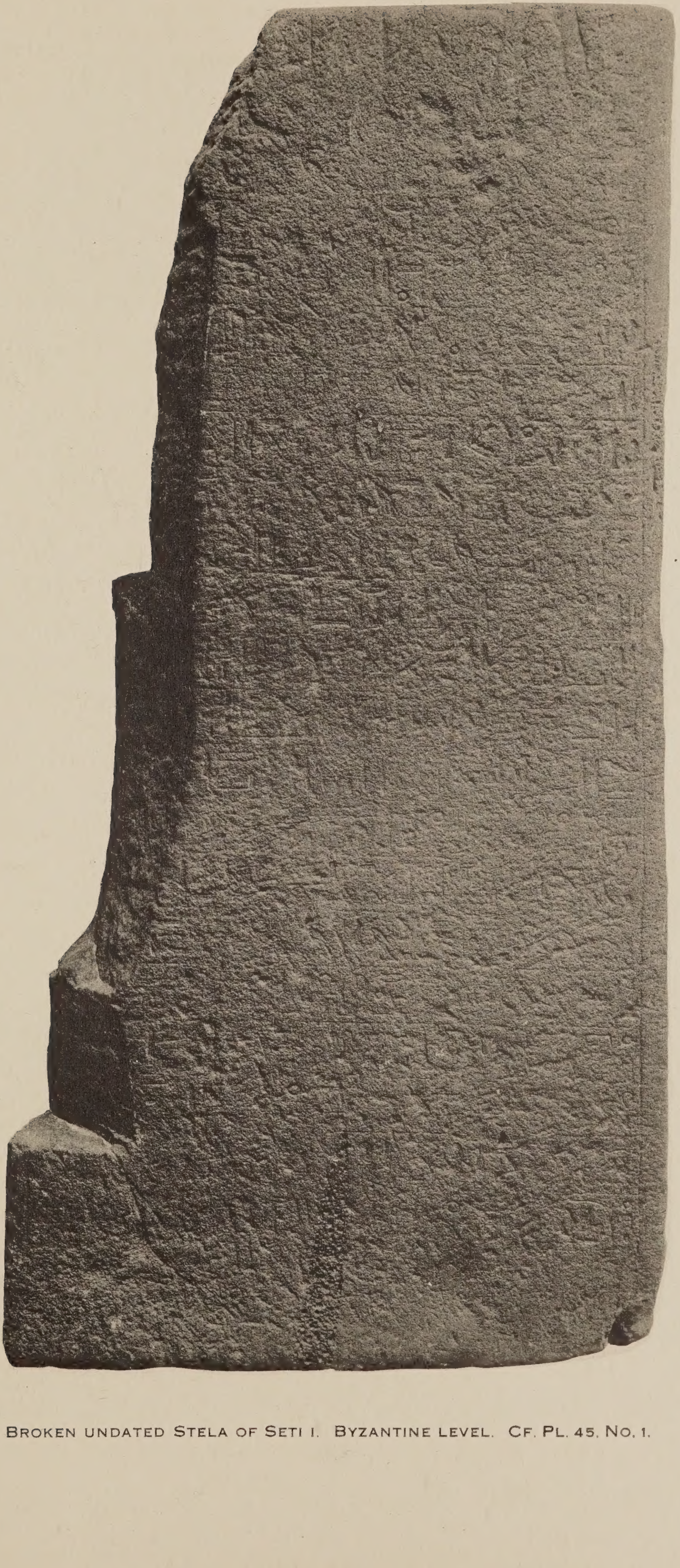
1. COVERS, BASES, ETC. OF POTTERY ANTHROPOID SARCOPHAGI (CF. PL. 37). FOUND IN THE GREAT NORTHERN CEMETERY.



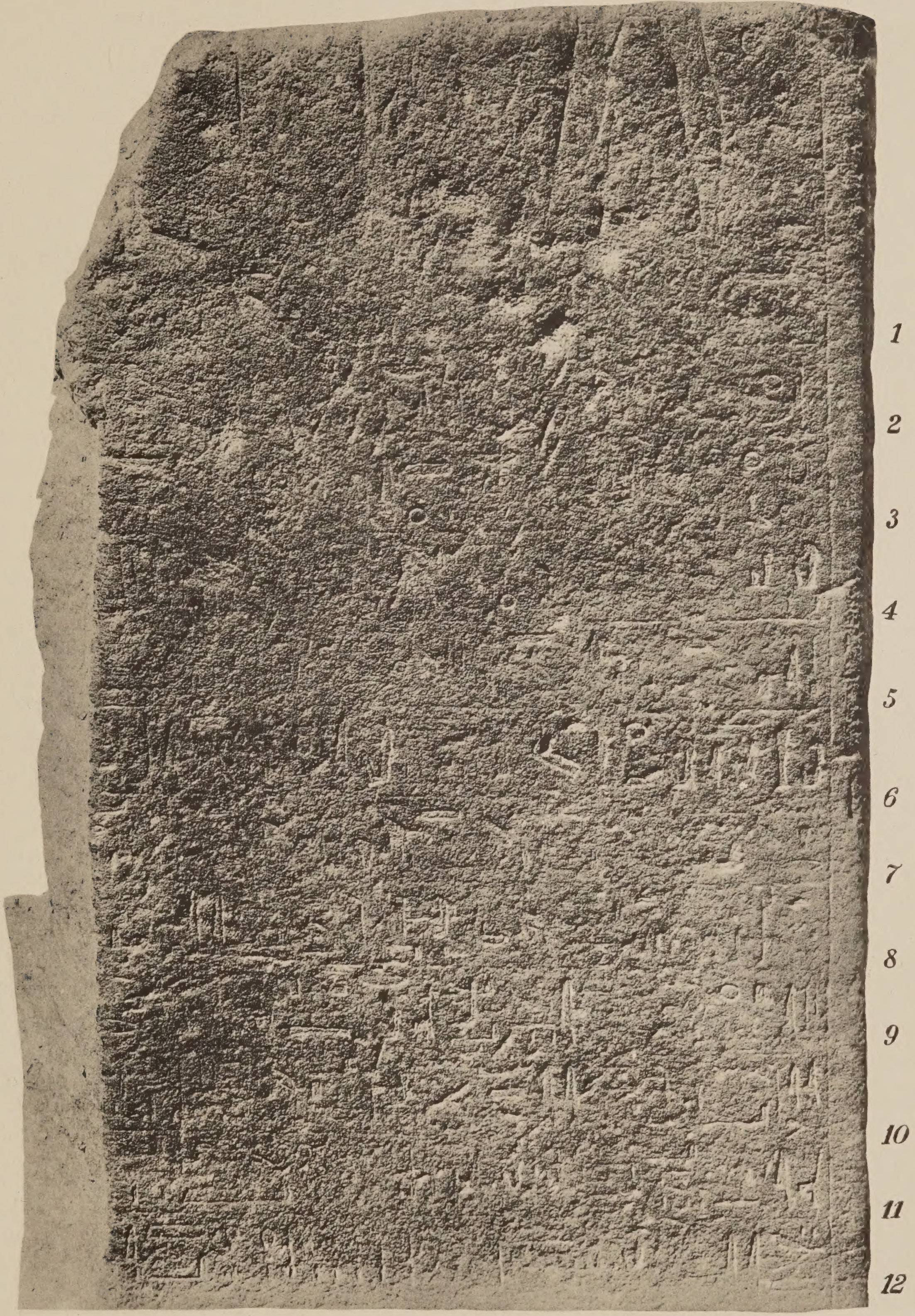
2. POT-HANDLE WITH CYPRIOTE (LEFT-HAND GROUP) AND CRETAN (RIGHT-HAND GROUP) SIGNS. AMENOPHIS III LEVEL.



Stela of Seti I, dated in the first year of his reign. Rameses II level. cf. Pl. 47, No. 3. A copy of the text is given in Fig. 5.



Broken undated Stela of Seti I. Byzantine level. Cf. Pl. 45, No. 1.


1
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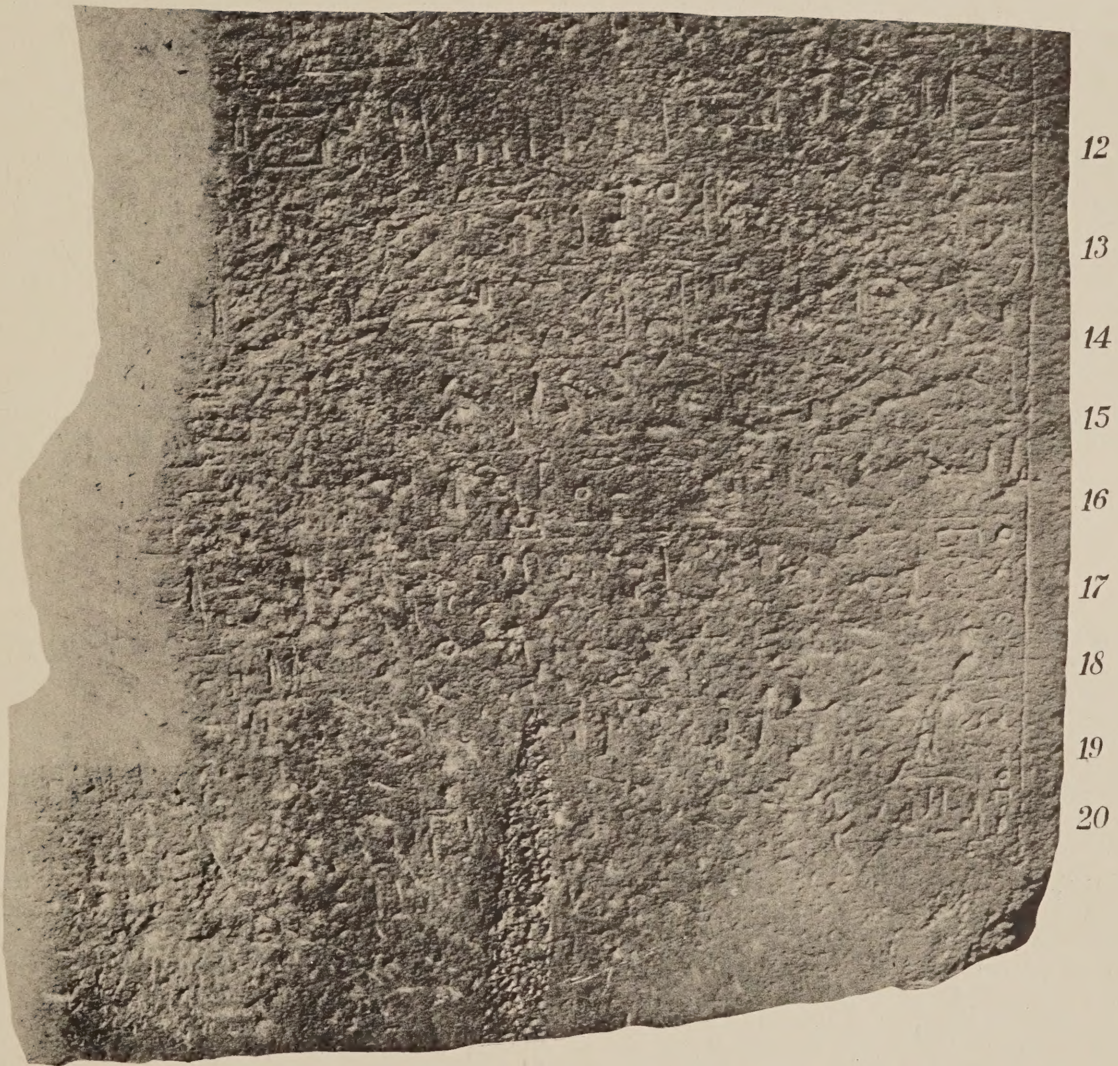
UPPER PART OF THE UNDATED STELA OF SETI I SHOWN IN PL. 42 (LINES 1-12 OF THE TEXT).


12
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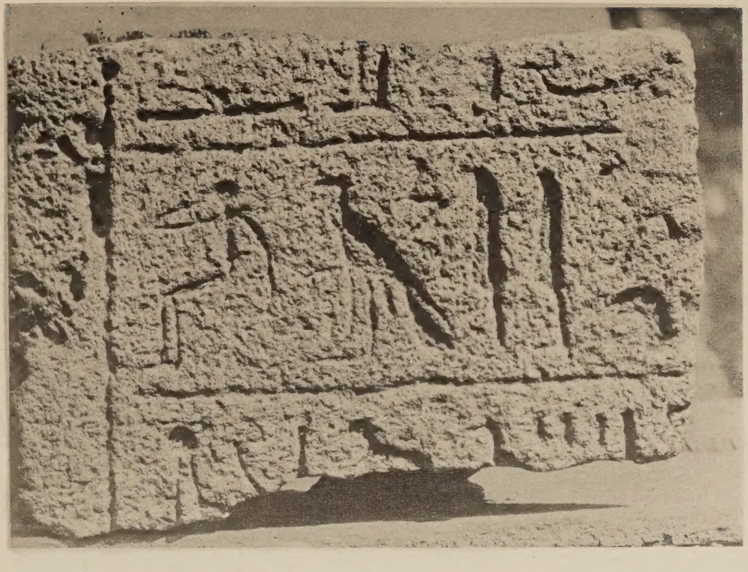
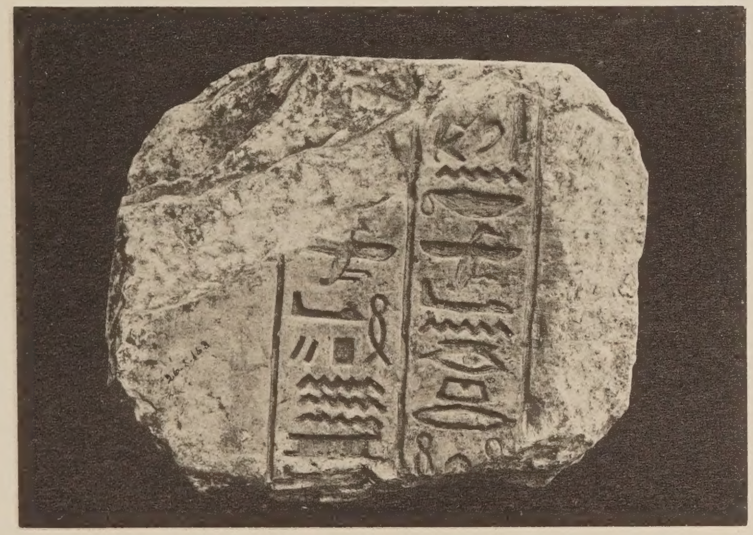
20

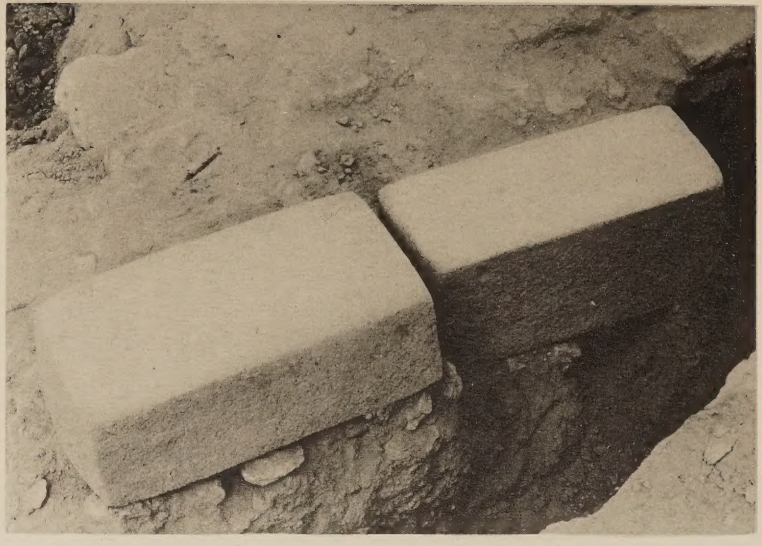
Lower part of the undated stela of Seti I shown in Pl. 42 (Lines 12-20 of the text).



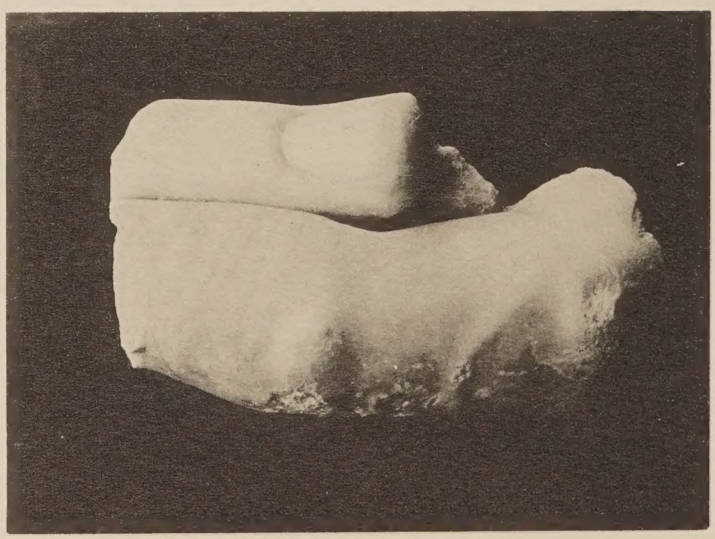
1. Left-hand fragment belonging to the undated stela of Seti I shown in Pl. 42. The hieroglyphs form parts of lines 5, 6 and 7 of the text.



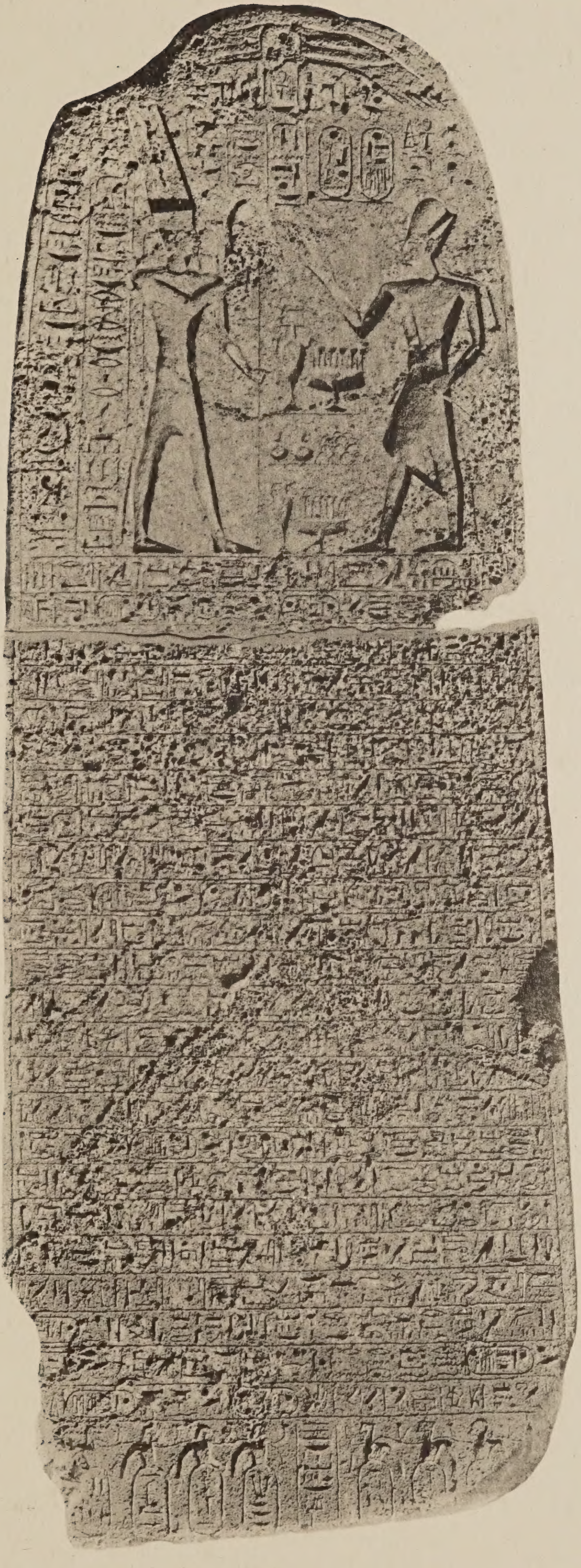
2. Fragment of a door-jamb (?) bearing part of a hymn to the Egyptian solar deity. Late Seti level.



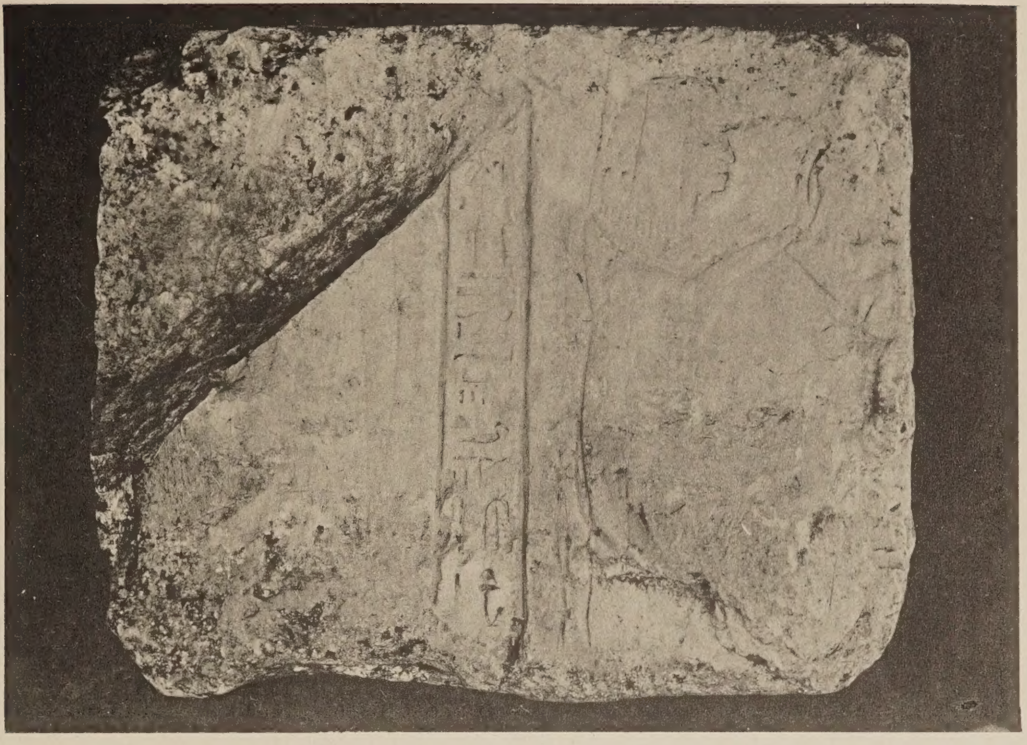
3. Tell el-Hosn, No. V City-Level (Rameses II). Bases of two royal Egyptian stelæ. Looking West.



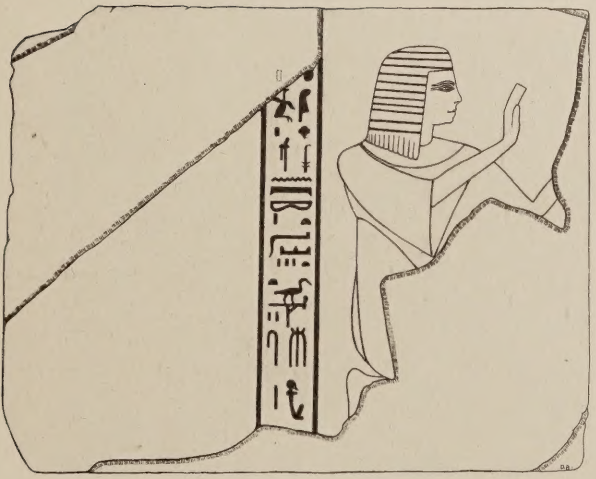
4. Part of the right hand of a white marble colossus. Reservoir of the Hellenistic temple.



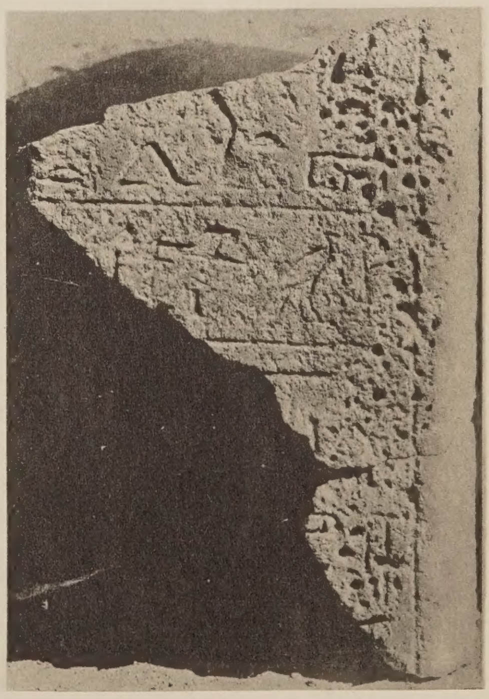
STELA OF RAMESES II, DATED IN THE NINTH YEAR OF HIS REIGN.
RAMESES II LEVEL.



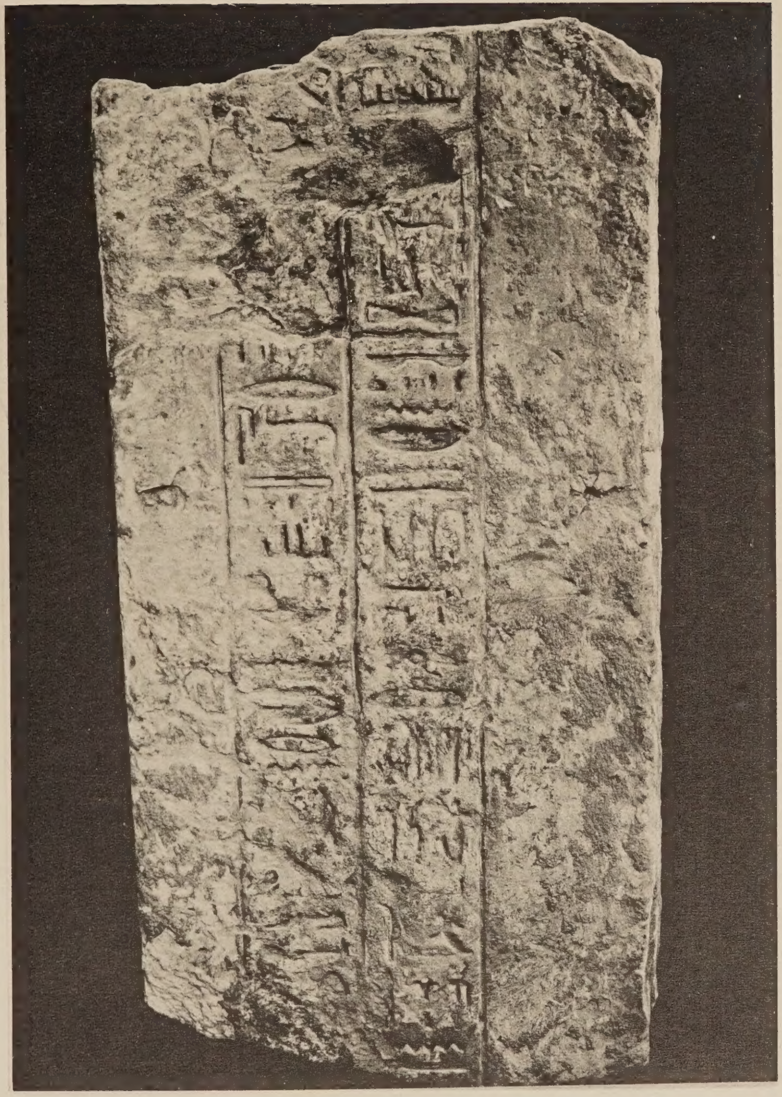
1. Lintel showing the figure of Rameses-wesr-khepesh, the fort commandant in the time of Rameses II. The text mentions the name and titles of Thothmes, his father. Cf. Pl. 48, No. 1.



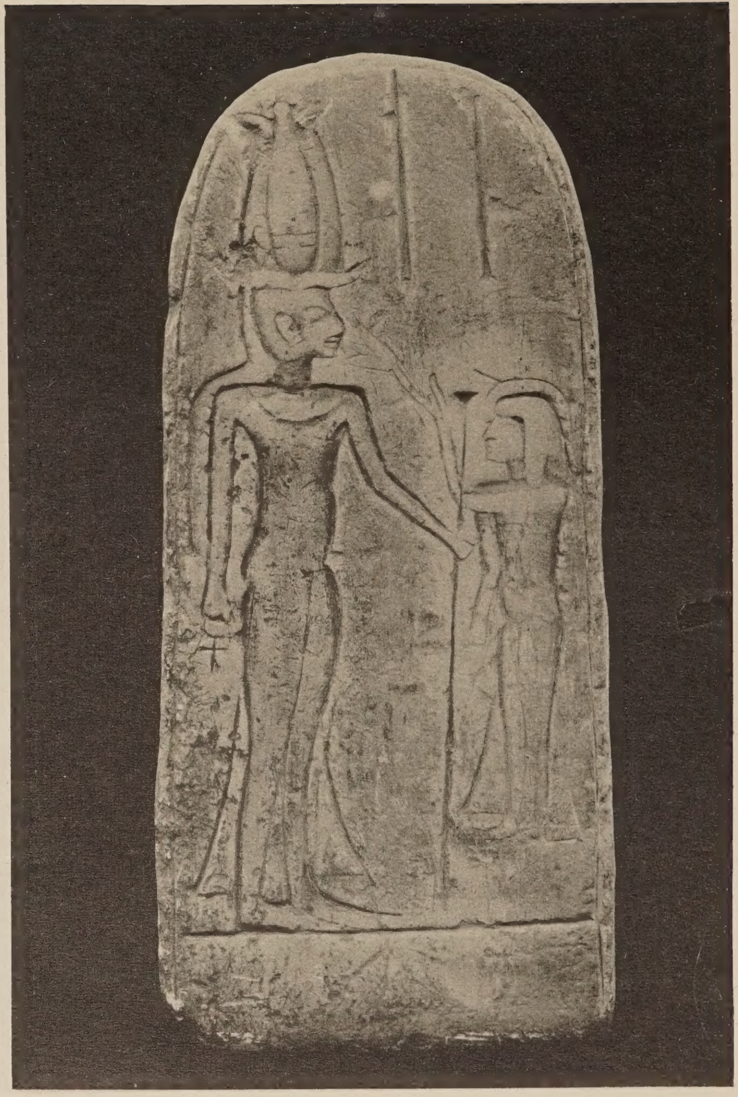
2. Drawing of the above lintel, giving details of hieroglyphs, etc.



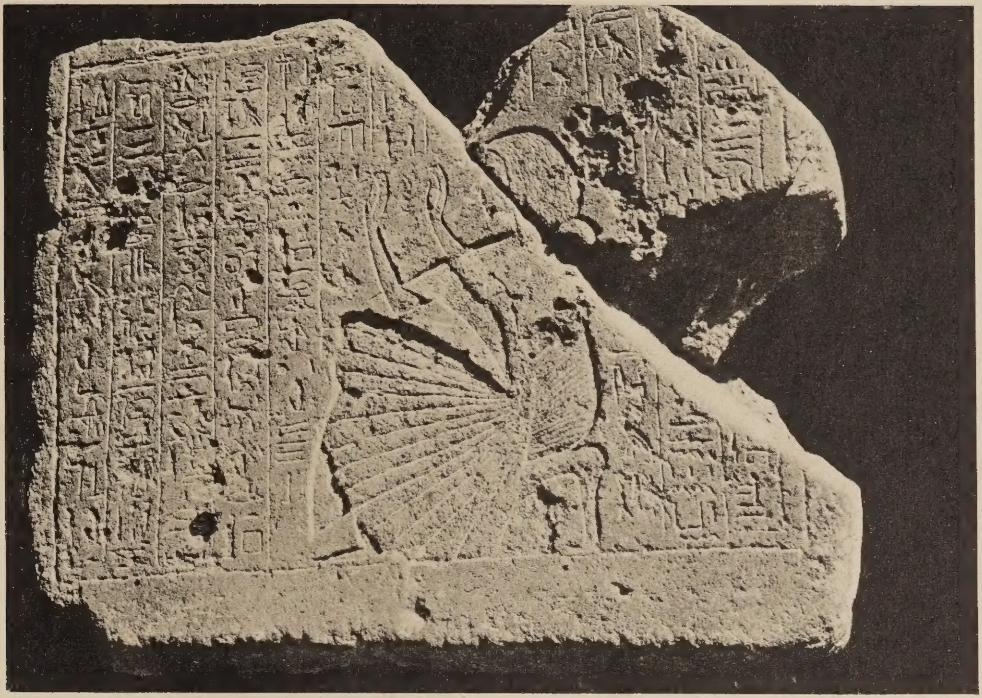
3. Fragment of the stela of Seti I shown in Pl. 41.



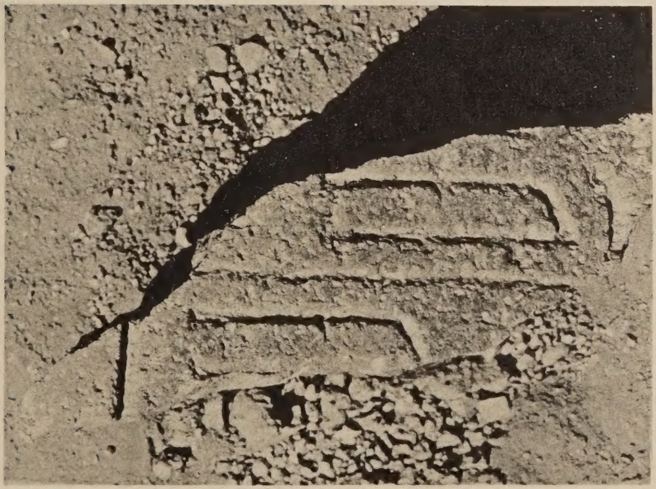
1. Lintel of Rameses-wesr-khepesh, the fort commandant in the time of Rameses II. Cf. Pl. 47, Nos. 1, 2.



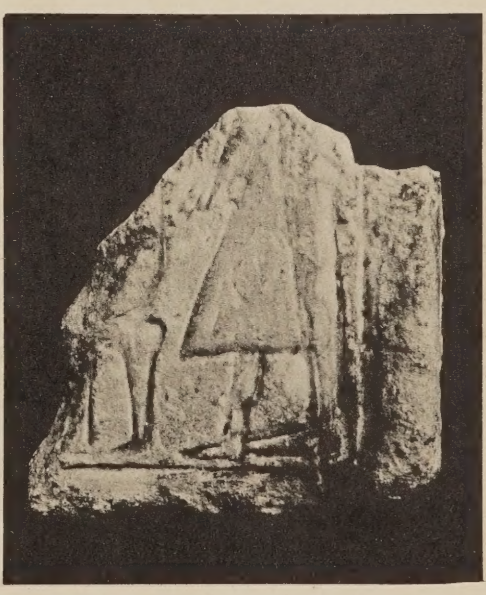
2. Private Egyptian stela dedicated to the goddess "Ashtoreth of the Two Horns (?)", Temple of Amenophis III.



1. Private Egyptian stela bearing the name of the official Amen-em-Apt. Rameses II level.

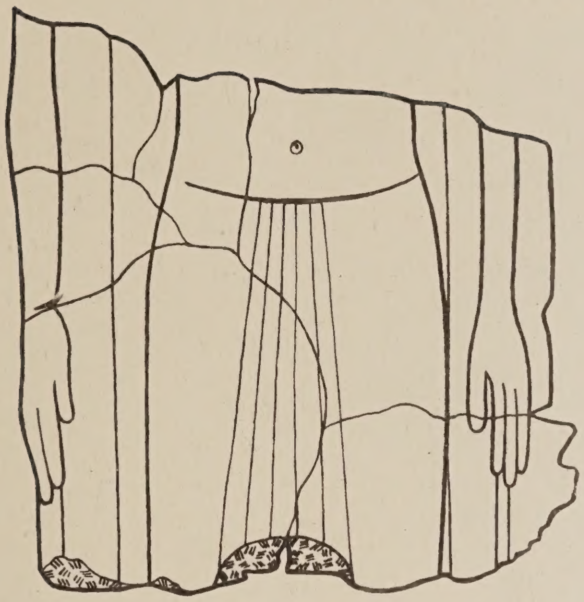


2. Fragment of a royal Egyptian stela. Northern temple of Rameses II. Another fragment probably from the same stela is shown in fig. 8.

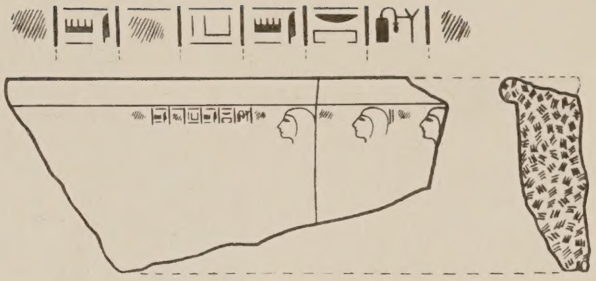


3. Fragment of private Egyptian stela. Amenophis III level.

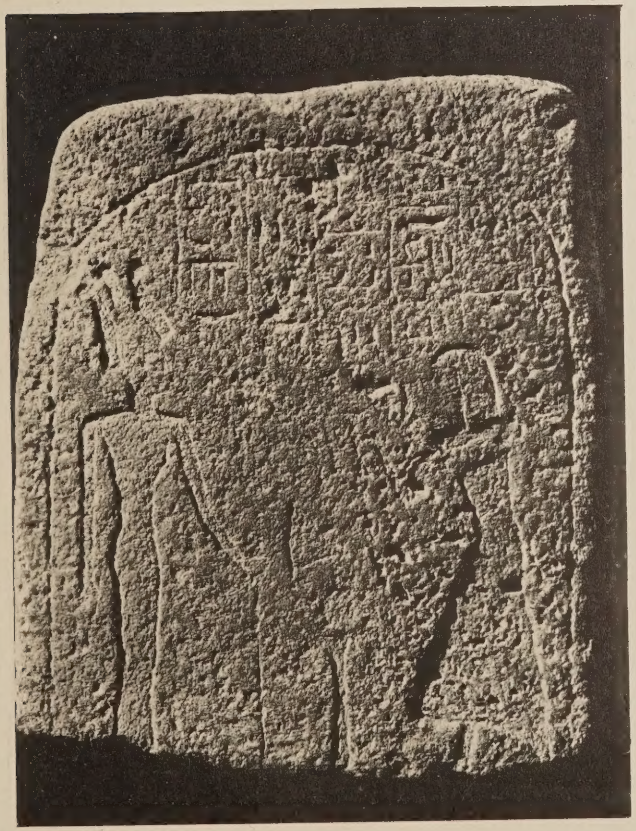
Part of Mekal stela



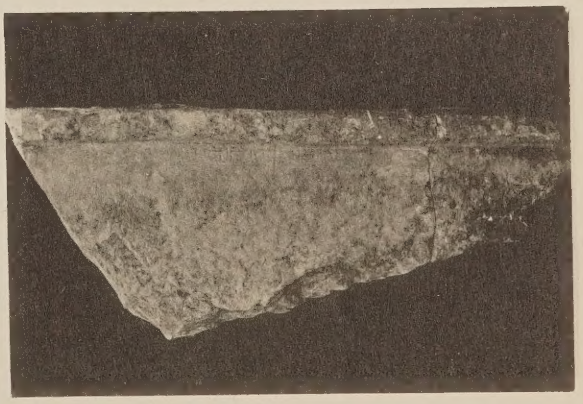
1. Drawing of a royal statue. Northern temple of Rameses II.



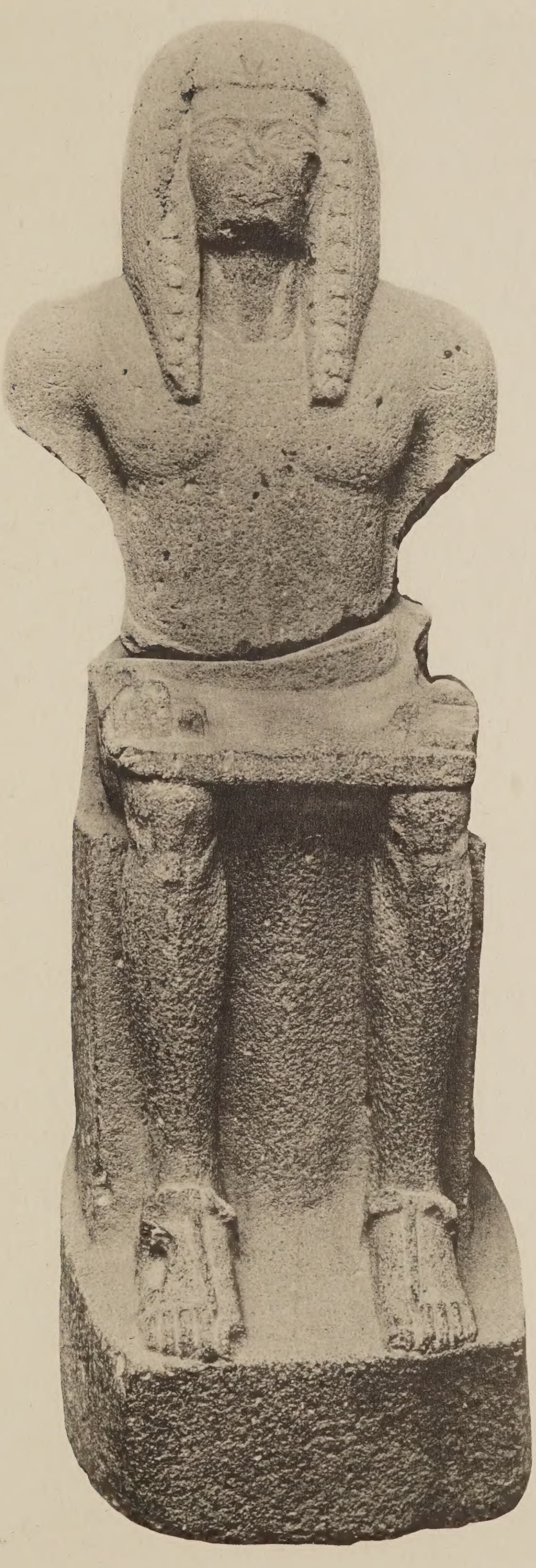
3. Drawing of the inscribed lintel shown in No. 4, giving details of hieroglyphs, etc.



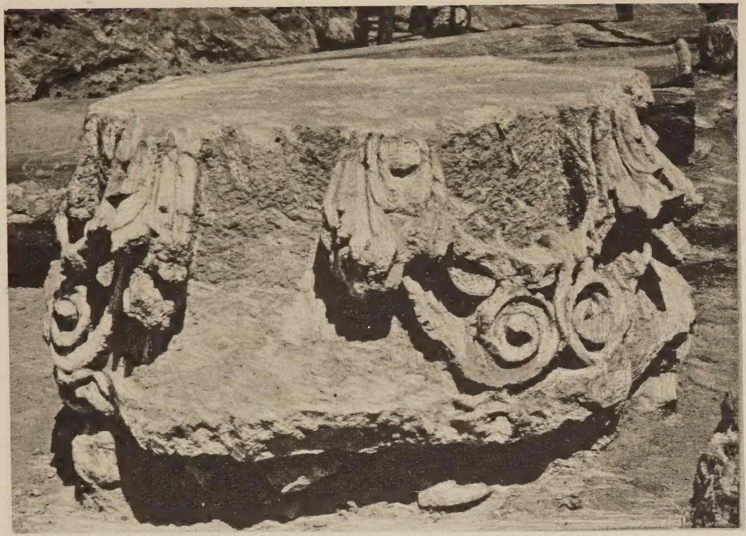
2. Private Egyptian stela dedicated to the goddess Antit, by Hesi-Nekht (?). Northern temple of Rameses II.



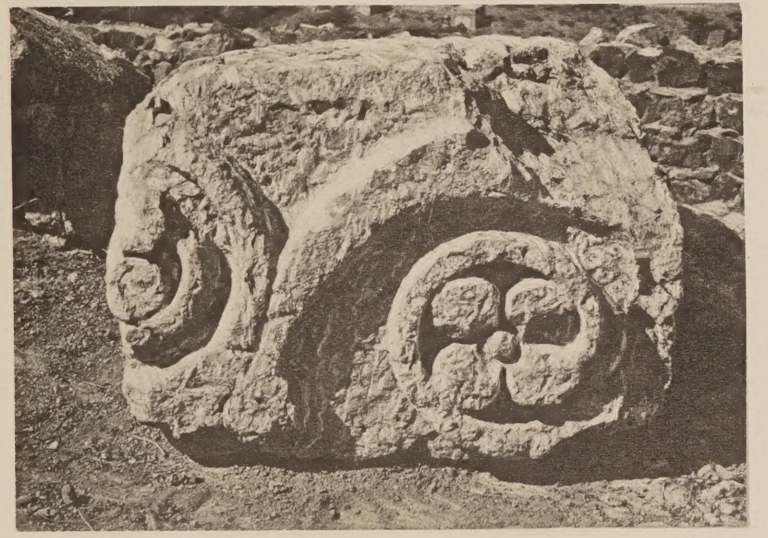
4. Fragment of an inscribed limestone lintel. Southern Temple of Rameses II. Cf. the lintel shown in Fig. 7 in the text.



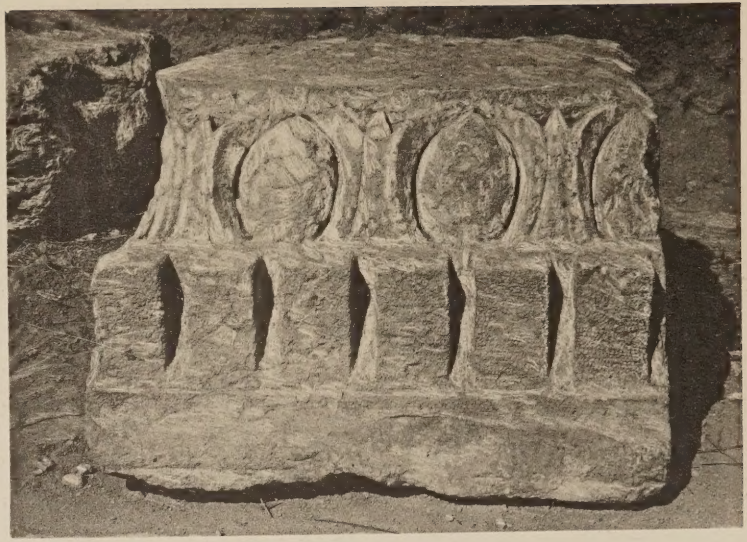
STATUE OF RAMESES III. OUTSIDE THE NORTHERN TEMPLE BUILT BY RAMESES II.



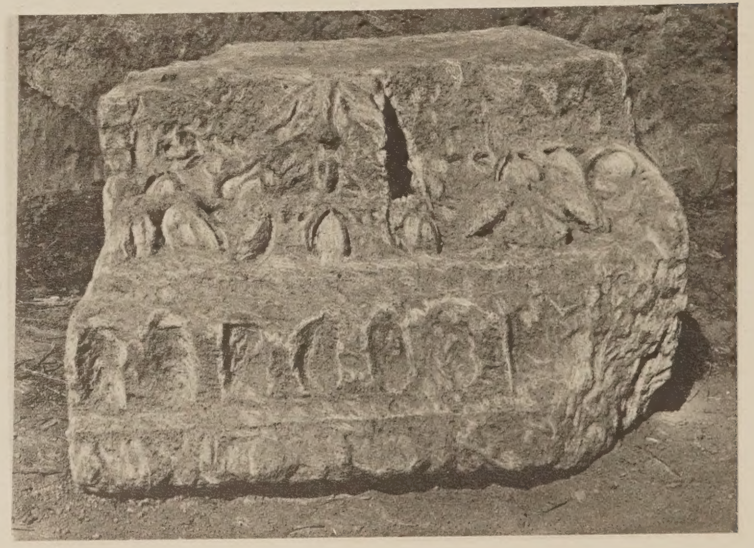
1. Capital (inverted) from the Hellenistic-Roman temple on the tell.



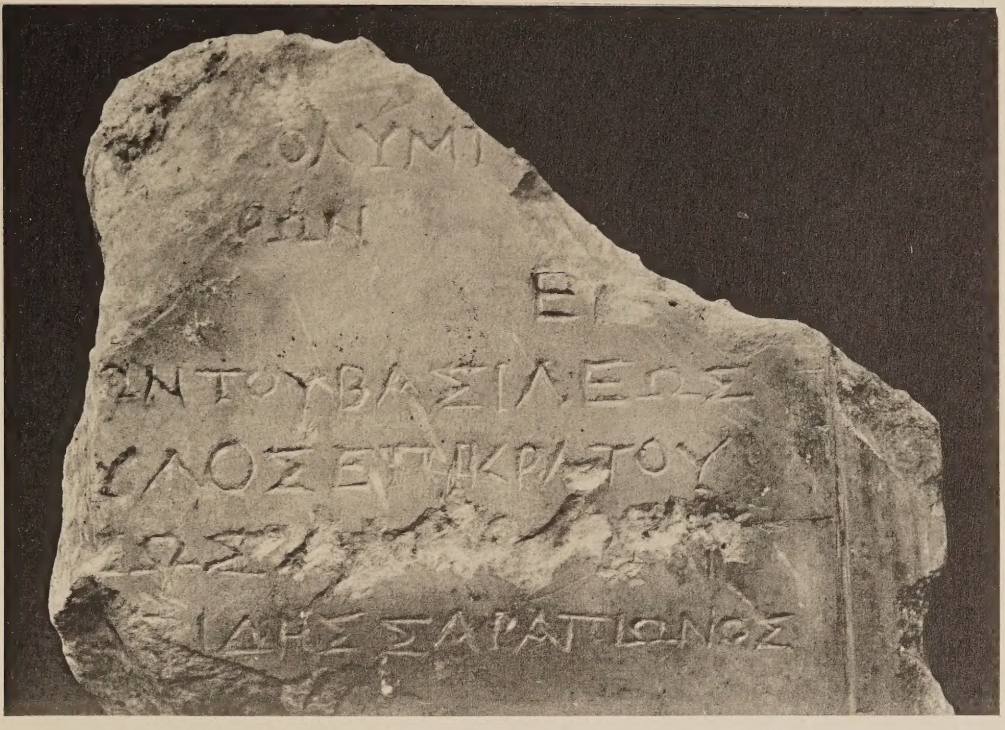
2. Floral design from the Hellenistic-Roman temple.



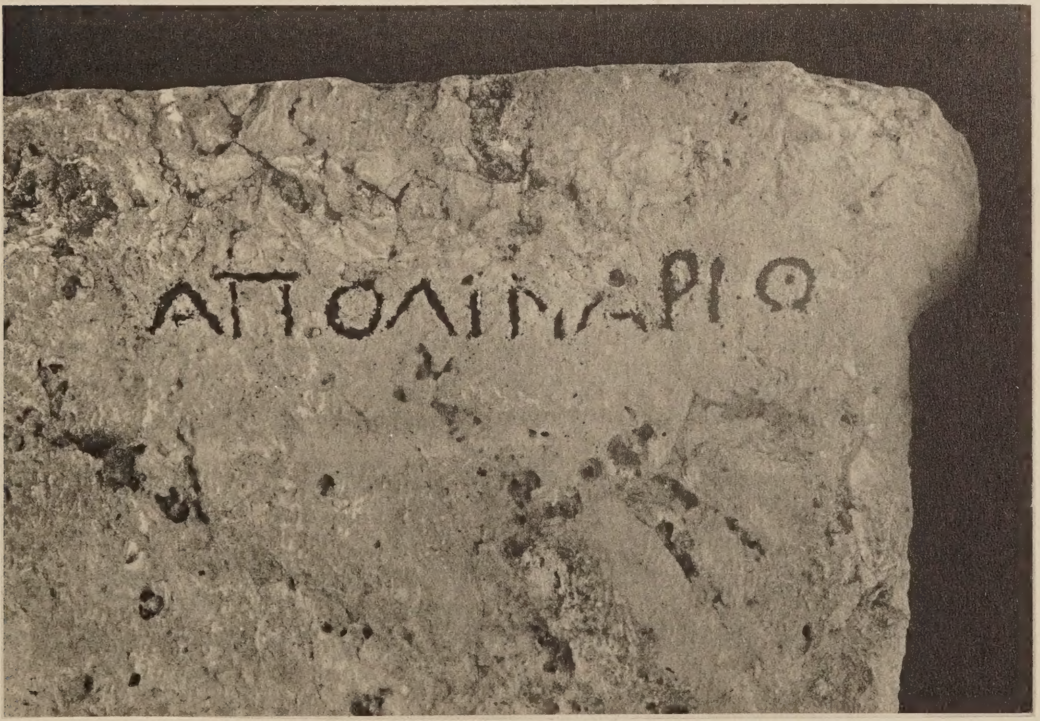
3. Cornice (inverted) from the Hellenistic-Roman temple.



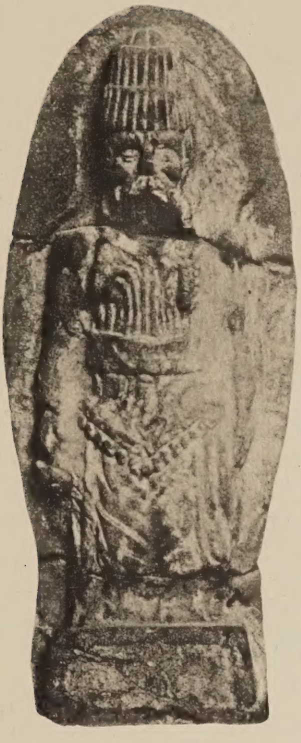
4. Cornice (inverted) from the Hellenistic-Roman temple



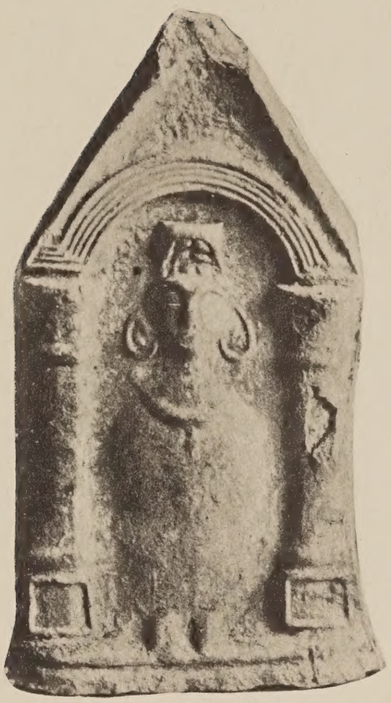
1. Stone with Greek inscription giving the names of priests who served in the Hellenistic temple on the tell during the era of the Seleucidæ. Second century B. C.



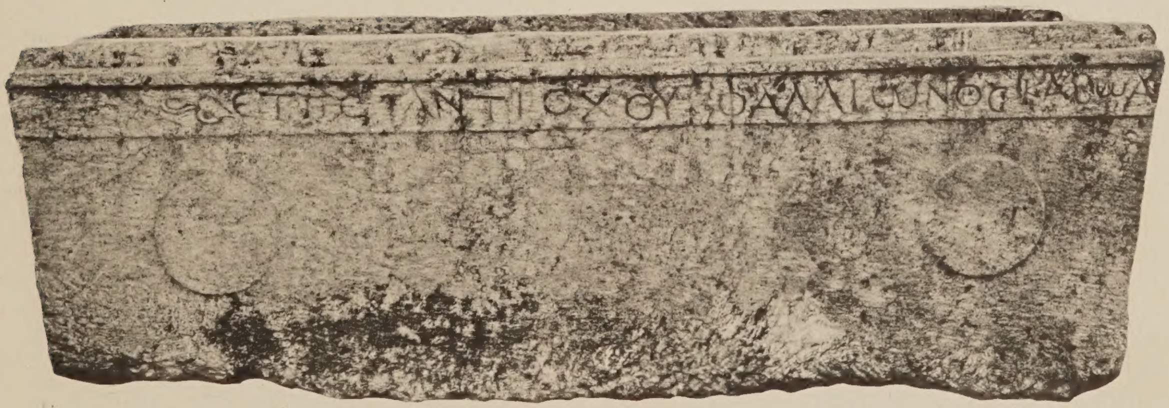
2. Inscription on a door from a Byzantine tomb in the great northern cemetery. This mentions "Apolinarius", one of the occupants of the tomb. Cf. another door shown in Pl. 5, No. 3.



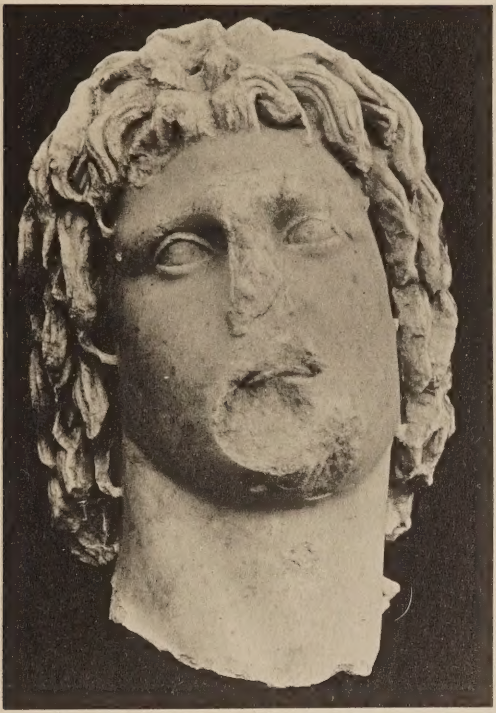
1. Pottery figurine found at Beth-shan Scythian period or earlier.



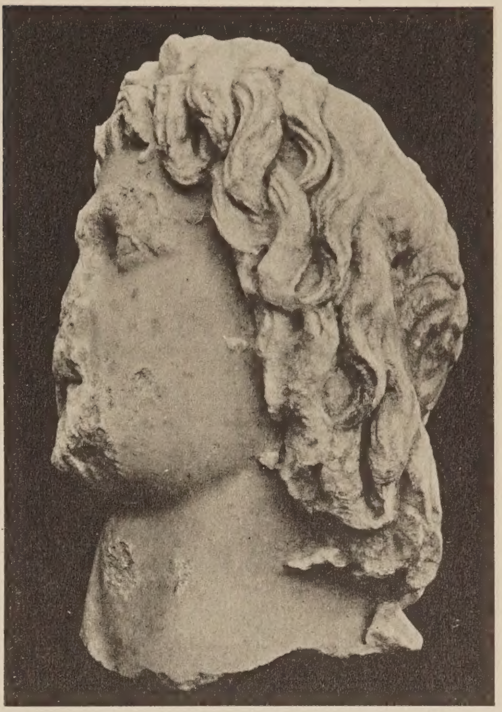
2. Pottery figurine of a robed goddess within a niche. Found at Beth-shan. Roman period.



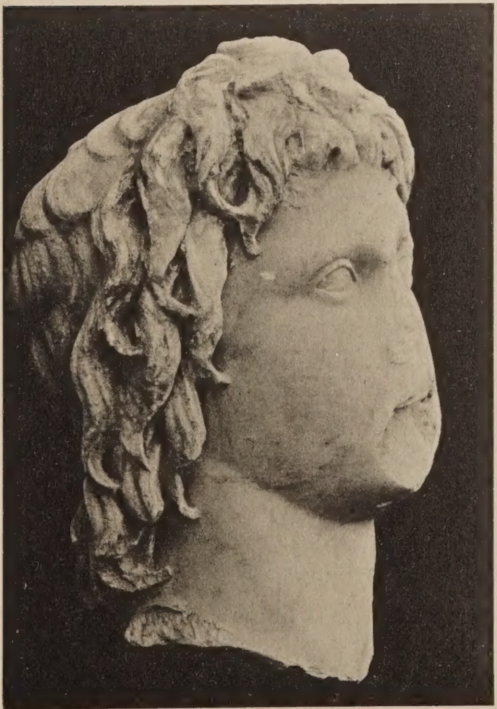
3. Sarcophagus of "Antiochus, the son of Phallion". Found in the great northern cemetery. Antiochus was perhaps the first cousin of Herod the Great (37-4 B. C.).



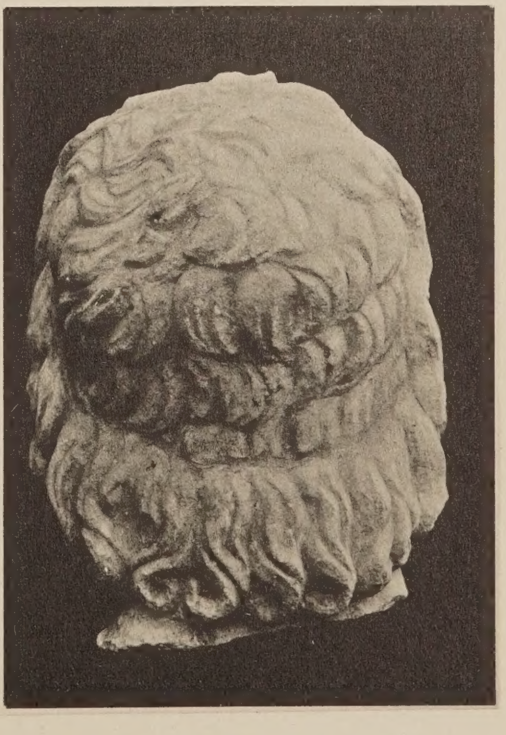
1. HEAD OF A WHITE MARBLE STATUE OF DIONYSOS (?). FROM THE DÉBRIS OF THE RESERVOIR SOUTH OF THE HELLENISTIC TEMPLE. ABOUT THIRD CENTURY B. C. FRONT VIEW.



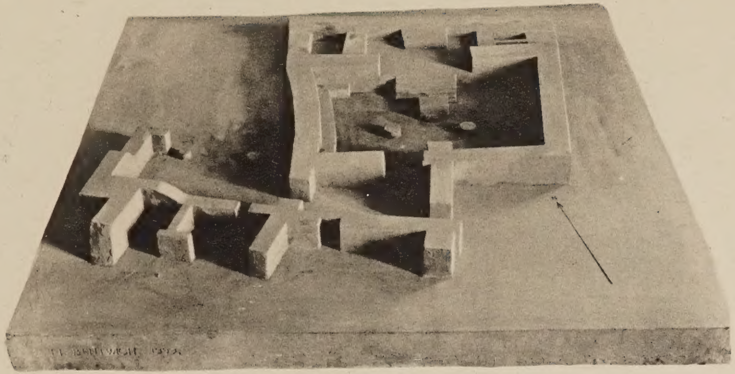
3. VIEW OF THE OTHER SIDE OF THE HELLENISTIC HEAD.



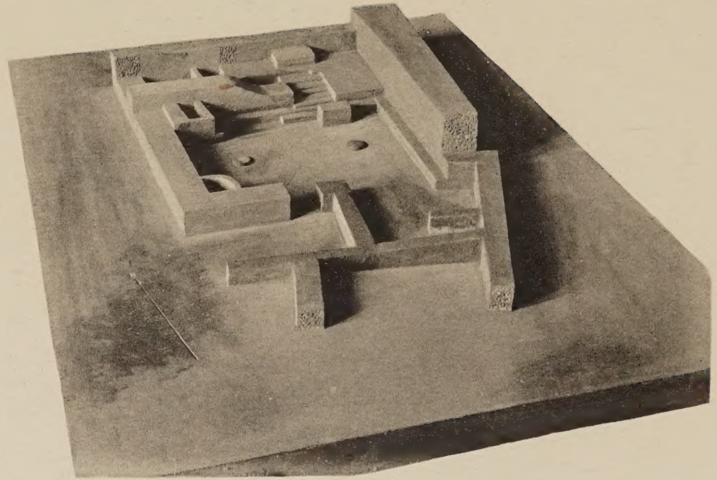
2. SIDE VIEW OF THE HELLENISTIC HEAD



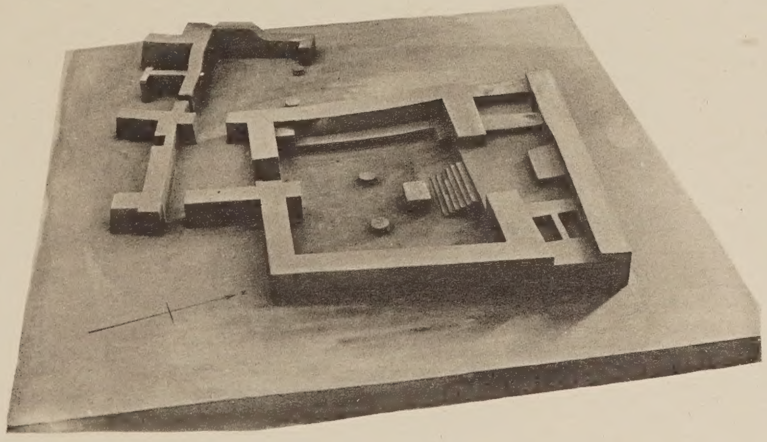
4. BACK VIEW OF THE HELLENISTIC HEAD.



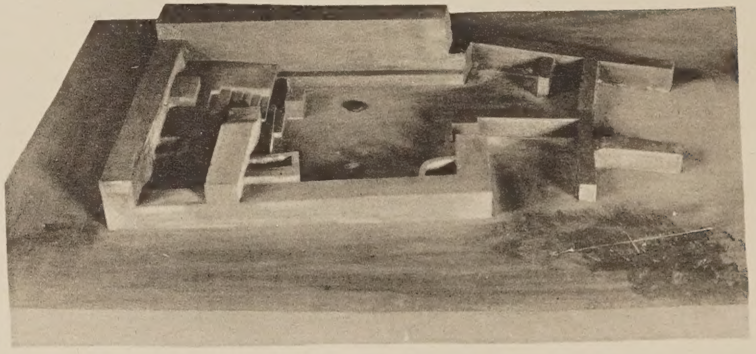
1. MODEL OF THE TEMPLE OF SETI I ON THE TELL. CF. PL. 24, NO 2. LOOKING NORTH.



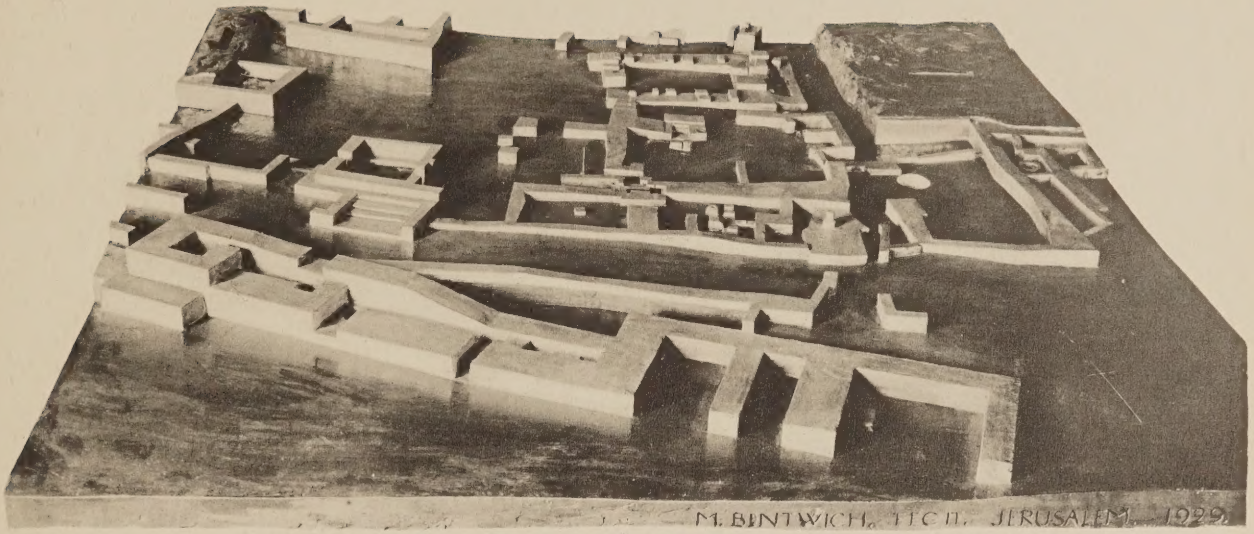
NO. 3, MODEL OF THE TEMPLE OF AMENOPHIS III ON THE TELL. CF. PL. 24, NO. 1. LOOKING NORTH.



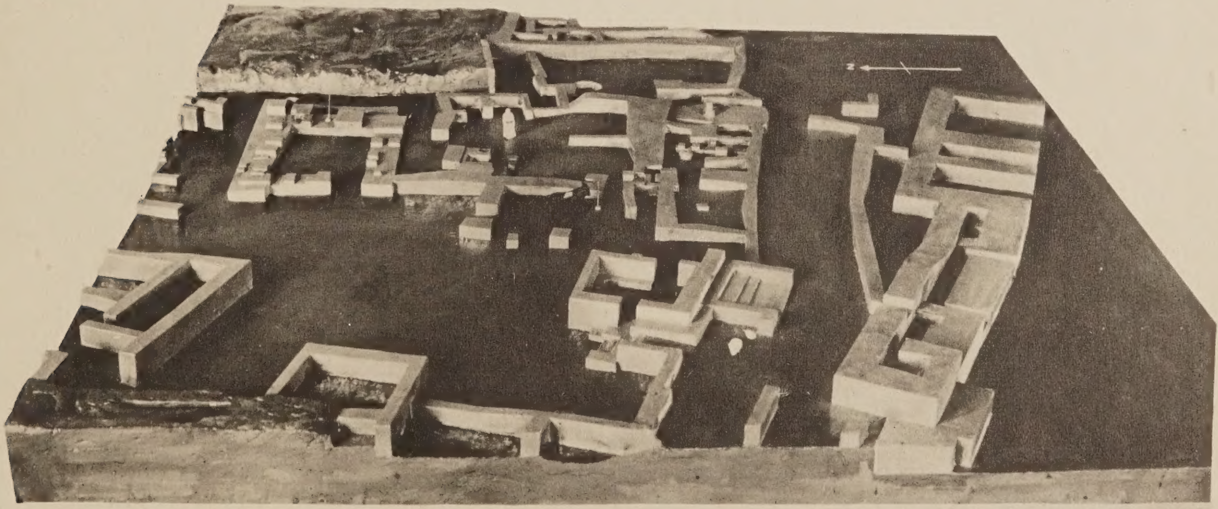
2. ANOTHER VIEW OF THE MODEL OF THE TEMPLE OF SETI I, LOOKING WEST.



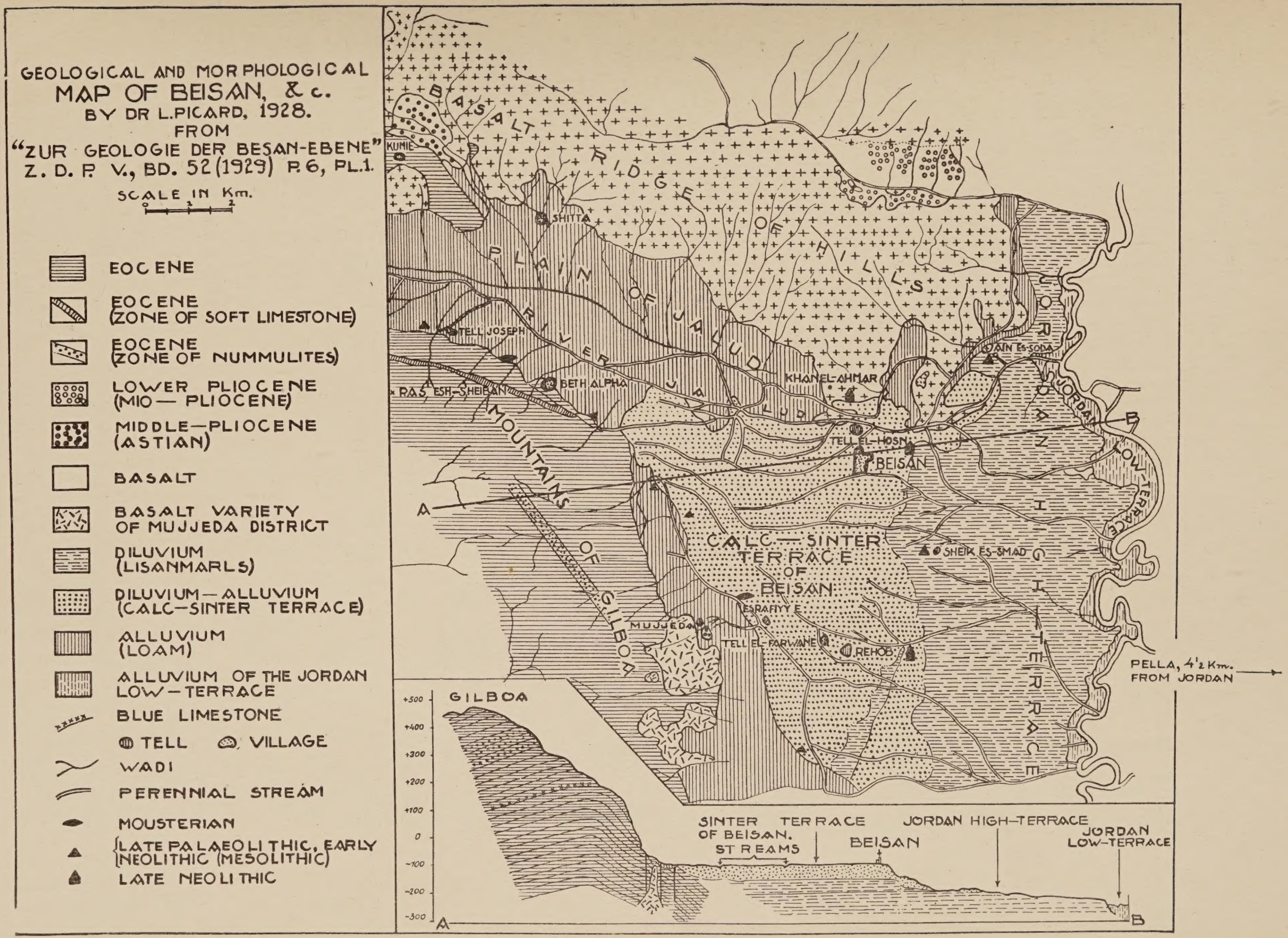
4. ANOTHER VIEW OF THE MODEL OF THE TEMPLE OF AMENOPHIS III. LOOKING EAST.


M. BENTWICH. TECH. JERUSALEM. 1929

1. Model of the Temple of Thothmes III on the tell. Cf. Pls. 16-22, No. 1 inclusive. In the foreground is the great outer city wall in the Thothmes level. Looking North.



2. Another view of the model of the temple of Thothmes III. Looking East.



GEOLOGICAL AND MORPHOLOGICAL
MAP OF BEISAN, &c.
BY DR L.PICARD, 1928.
FROM
"ZUR GEOLOGIE DER BESAN-EBENE"
Z. D. P. V., BD. 52 (1929) P. 6, PL. 1.

SCALE IN Km.
0
1
2
EOCENE
EOCENE (ZONE OF SOFT LIMESTONE)
EOCENE (ZONE OF NUMMULITES)
LOWER PLIOCENE (MIO — PLIOCENE)
MIDDLE—PLIOCENE (ASTIAN)
BASALT
BASALT VARIETY OF MUJJEDA DISTRICT
DILUVIUM (LISANMARLS)
DILUVIUM—ALLUVIUM (CALC—SINTER TERRACE)
ALLUVIUM (LOAM)
ALLUVIUM OF THE JORDAN LOW—TERRACE
BLUE LIMESTONE
TELL
VILLAGE
WADI
PERENNIAL STREAM
MOUSTERIAN
LATE PALAEOLITHIC, EARLY NEOLITHIC (MESOLITHIC)
LATE NEOLITHIC
BASALT RIDGE OF HILLS
KUMIE
SHITTA
PLAIN OF JALUD
RIVER JALUD
TELL JOSEPH
BETH ALPHA
RAS ESH-SHEIBAN
MOUNTAINS OF GILBOA
KHAN EL-AHMAR
AIN ES-SODA
JORDAN
JORDAN HIGH TERRACE
LOW-TERRACE
TELL EL-HOSN
BEISAN
CALC—SINTER TERRACE OF BEISAN
SHEIK ES-SMAD
ESRAFIYYE
MUJJEDA
TELL EL-FARWANE
REHOB
A
B
PELLA, 4½ Km. FROM JORDAN
+500
+400
+300
+200
+100
0
-100
-200
-300
GILBOA
SINTER TERRACE OF BEISAN.
STREAMS
BEISAN
JORDAN HIGH—TERRACE
JORDAN LOW—TERRACE

Date Due

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MAR 8 '62
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